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GEORGE W. ELDERKIN, professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University, formerly editor of *The American Journal of Archaeology*, author of *Archaeological Papers*.

HENRY WILDER FOOTE, in his book *Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter*, 1930, first brought this long neglected artist to public attention. He has written articles on several other colonial painters, and is now engaged in writing a life of John Smibert.

JOHN FABIAN KIENITZ, associate professor of art history at the University of Wisconsin.

GIGI RICHTER, a restorer of paintings and a London correspondent for *Art News*, has been living in Henry Moore's studio during the past year and wrote the current article to coincide with the Moore exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. Her collection of sculpture and sculptors' drawings includes several examples of Moore's work. She writes us as one-line identification that she is "daughter of 'Giorgione' Richter, G. M.; grand-niece of 'Leonardo' Richter, J. P.; cousin of 'Greek' Richter, Gisella."

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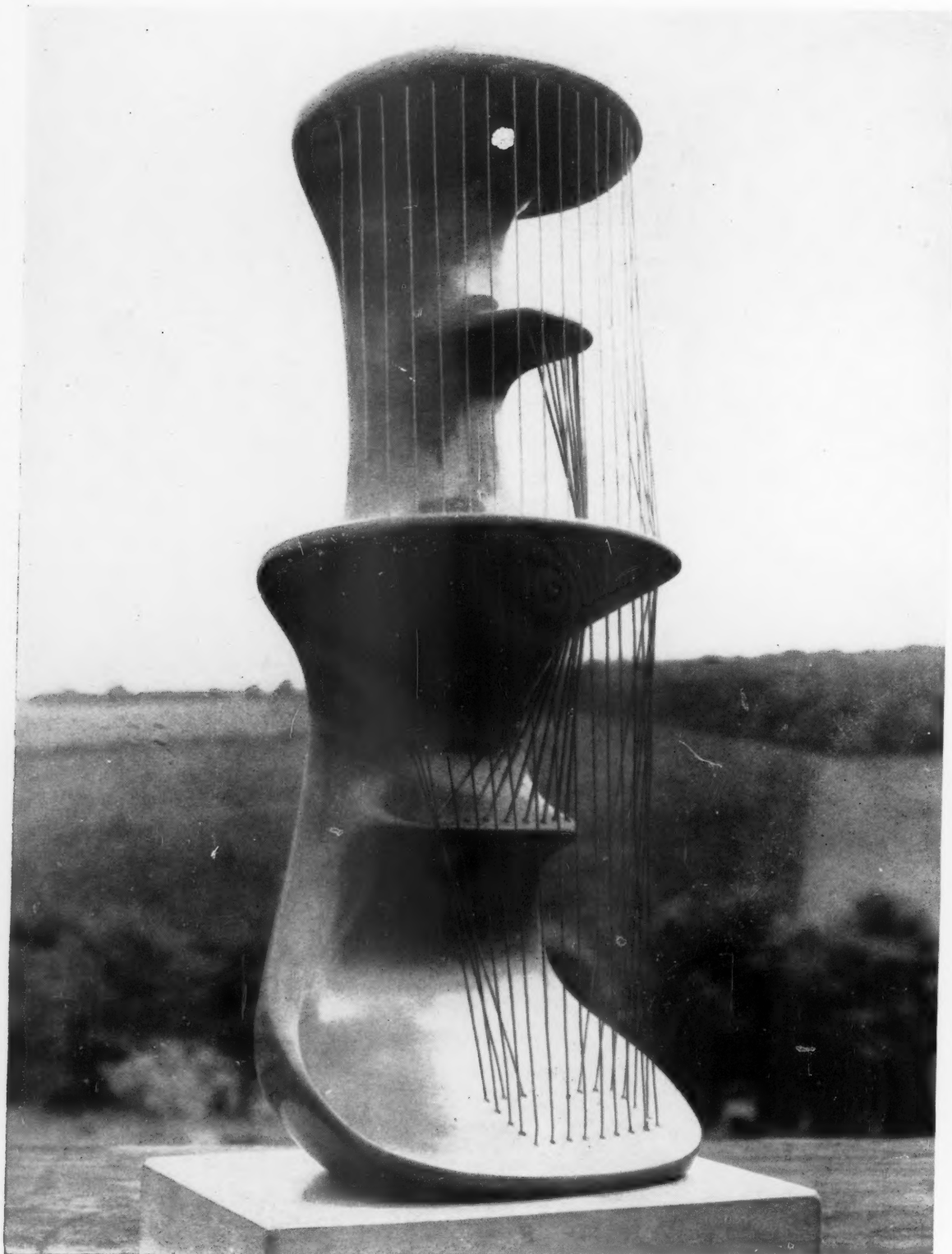


Fig. 1 HENRY MOORE: *The Bride*, 1940 (lead and wire)  
*E. L. T. Mesens Collection*

# ART IN AMERICA

## AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXXV

JANUARY, 1947

NUMBER 1



### INTRODUCTION TO HENRY MOORE

By GIGI RICHTER  
*London*

HENRY MOORE has achieved the very rare combination of success and real greatness in the most difficult medium of the visual arts, sculpture — and he has done this with a steadfastness and singleness of purpose and aim; with a minimum of compromise to public taste or demands. This contrasts with so many gifted and promising English artists, where official patronage and public acclaim led to their ruin as free and independent artists. For those who believe that a turning towards realism, however slightly, automatically means academicism, his last large reclining figure in elm wood (Figs. 2 and 3, 1945-46) is surely a wonderful reaffirmation that he has not "changed" but has developed on the lines of exploring the universal, natural forms and expressing them in at times monumental and always vital, exciting and moving carvings, contemplative and serious in feeling.

The current retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art is the first large one-man exhibition to be held of Moore's work (there was a small and interesting exhibition held by the Buchholtz Gallery in 1943).

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Now a much larger public will be afforded the long-awaited opportunity to study Moore's development from his first masks and figures, directly influenced by his discovery of the primitive carvings of Mexico and Africa, through his highly successful stringed and wired abstract figure experiments, to his most recent works.

Henry Moore was born in 1898 in the small coal-mining town of Castleford in the gloomy and sombre West Riding of Yorkshire. His father, as his grandfather and great-grandfather, was a coal miner. When young Henry was twelve years old he won a scholarship to the Castleford Grammar School and was trained to be a teacher. In February, 1917 he joined the Army and became a private in the 15th London Regiment. In the Battle of Cambrai he was gassed and invalided back to England. When he was demobilized in February, 1919 he first went back to his old teaching post, but in September he realized his purpose to be a sculptor, by securing a grant as an ex-serviceman and going to the Leeds School of Art. He stayed there two years, getting a very thorough academic training, mostly drawing and copying classical plaster casts. Although dissatisfied with this at the time, he has never underestimated the value of his academic training and still periodically returns to drawing from life, which he feels enlarges his "form repertoire and form experience" in his conscious search of natural forms. Typical are the large drawings of seated nudes in india ink and brush — very much the sculptor's drawings, they are strong and bold and three-dimensional in conception. It was in Leeds that Moore first saw and studied paintings by Gauguin and Van Gogh in the collection of Sir Michael Sadleir. And at the Leeds Reference Library he found Roger Fry's "Vision and Design," in which he first discovered Negro and Mexican sculpture. For the next two years Moore went to the Royal College of Art in London, where again there was mostly drawing and very little carving. But he was able to spend many hours of every week-end exploring the heaped-up ethnological showcases at the British Museum, and returned there year after year discovering their treasure of primitive art of all races. In *The Listener* (April 24th, 1941) Moore wrote an article on primitive art in which he said: "The most striking quality common to all primitive art is its intense vitality. It is something made by people with a direct and immediate response to life . . . One of the first principles of art so clearly seen in primitive work is truth to material; the artist shows an instinctive understanding of his material, its right use and possibilities. . . "

In 1925 Moore won a travelling scholarship and went to Paris, Rome,





Fig. 2 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1945-46 (elm wood)  
*Collection of the Artist*



Fig. 3 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1945-46 (detail)

Florence, Venice, and Ravenna. In Paris he saw Brancusi, the great modern sculptor who had freed sculpture from the binding chains of Renaissance ornamentation, in which it had been bound for the past five centuries until the first visionary, Rodin, had broken off the surface decorations, and Brancusi arrived at his challenging single form unit. Of Brancusi, Moore wrote in 1937 in "Notes on Sculpture,"<sup>1</sup> "Brancusi's work, apart from its individual value, has been of historical importance in the development of contemporary sculpture. But it may now be no longer necessary to close down and restrict sculpture to the single (static) form unit. We can now begin to open out. To relate and combine together several forms of varied sizes, sections and directions into one organic whole . . ."

In Florence Moore was moved profoundly by Massaccio's solemn and monumental figures grouped around the walls of the Santa Maria del Carmine, and there he went each morning, much as Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo before him, studying and copying Massaccio's monumental draped figures which have been such a deep influence and can be felt in his recent drawings of grouped, draped figures and in his large sculptural forms.

After his return from the continent Moore lived and worked in London until 1940. In 1928 he had his first one-man exhibition in London; and, what is indeed rare for an English artist, he became known and famous on the continent with exhibitions in Venice, Berlin, Stockholm, Zurich and Hamburg. In Paris he has his followers and his influence there can now be seen directly in sculpture. In 1936 he was on the Committee for the famous International Surrealist Exhibition held in London, and exhibited four sculptures and three drawings. But he never was a part of the Surrealist Movement, and there is no trace of their philosophy in his work.

One of Moore's earliest sculptures is of Mother and Child (Fig. 5), and this is a theme that has been ever recurring. The first reclining figure (alabaster) was done in 1929. I think until about 1930 there can be seen the influence of Picasso and, more strongly, of primitive art. About 1932 Moore started to experiment with an almost wholly abstract form of expression which culminated with the very fine stringed figures of 1938-40 (see frontispiece). It was also in 1938 that he began the synthesis of the abstract and the human, which he is now working on, with the large Recumbent Figure (belonging to the Tate Gallery and on view at the Museum of Modern Art during the war years). In 1928 Moore

<sup>1</sup>Originally published in *The Listener* and then included in *The Painter's Object*, edited by Myfanwy Evans, London. (Gerald Howe, Ltd.), 1937, pp. 21-29. Reprinted in *Art in England*, edited by R. S. Lambert. (Penguin Books, Ltd.) 1938.

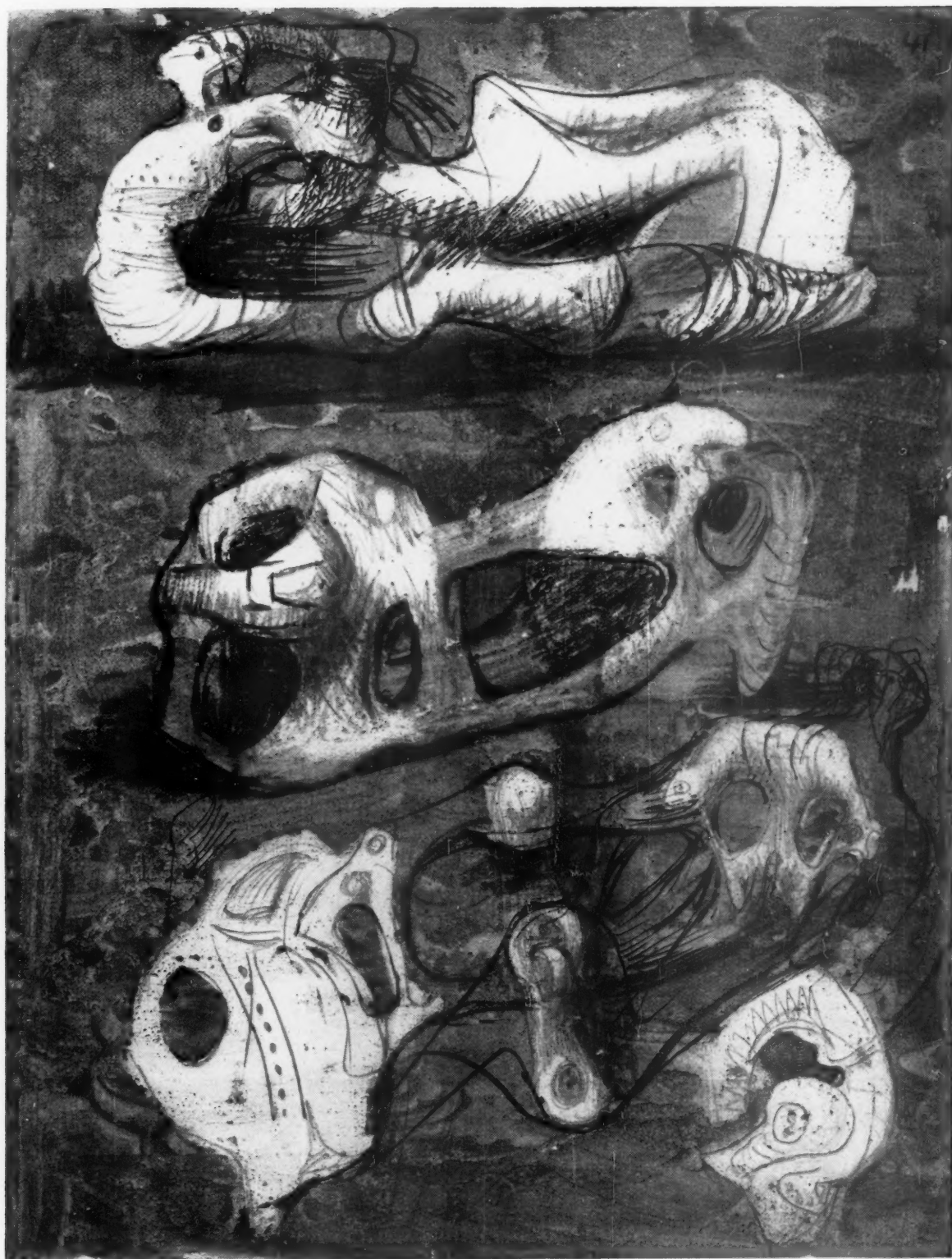


Fig. 4 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1943 (drawing for sculpture)  
*Collection of the Artist*

received a commission to decorate the Underground Building, St. James'. His North Wind figure is not wholly successful. I think there is no doubt that Moore has not done his best work when "commissioned," with the curse of how something ought to look put upon him. In 1943 he accepted the commission for a Madonna and Child for the Church of St. Matthew, Northampton. This is a rather square and heavy Madonna with the child on her knee — the draping of the figure is stiff and massive and there is meaningless embroidery on her dress. Somehow all the marvellous freedom of expression in flowing and really free forms is lost. Most striking is the difference between the two last reclining figures. The first, in elm wood, I mentioned at the beginning. The second was in stone, a memorial to a friend at Dartington Hall. The second one is not coming to the show — and I am glad, for it is most disappointing. I feel Moore was too conscious of doing a quiet figure that would stand as a memorial in the garden for ever. Alas, it is dull and uninteresting compared with the very exciting and moving sculpture Moore has done and, I am sure, will do.

I think the most interesting commission he executed was the group of shelter drawings done in London during the Blitz (see Fig. 6). He was deeply moved by the rows of hundreds of human beings herded together nightly, without privacy or solitude or family life or comfort of any kind. In his drawings he tried to express the comprehensive whole of their communal experience: the essentials of that stark existence — the restless, impermanent feeling — the anonymous, weary masses — without hope or solace; the rhythm of sleep, the open mouths and shut eyes of a token slumber without rest from fear — the incredibly tired and half-dead forms leaning on each other on benches or strangers lying under a shared blanket. When Sir Kenneth Clark, the Director of the National Gallery, saw these sketches, he commissioned Moore to do a series of shelter drawings and later a series of studies of miners at work for the War Artists. The shelter drawings subsequently were published by Editions Poetry London as the "Shelter Sketch Book" (interesting for the only studies of the male figure except for a father in a recent Family Group (Fig. 7)).

I should like to quote one more excerpt from the "Notes on Sculpture"<sup>2</sup>: "Although it is the human figure which interests me most deeply, I have always paid great attention to natural forms such as bones, shells and pebbles, etc. . . . pebbles show nature's way of working stone — some of the pebbles I pick up have holes right through them . . ." It is this constant rediscovering of the natural and elemental forms of nature

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*





Fig. 5 HENRY MOORE: *Mother and Child*, 1922 (Portland stone)  
*Ian Phillips Collection*

that we are most aware of Moore's expressing in his work (see Fig. 8). He is vitally conscious of organic growth and movement, expressed in the rounded forms of a woman, in the sweep of a bird's wing in flight, the action of a limb, the balance of the perfectly set small head growing so dead right out of the shoulders of his figures — the holes and caverns that the wind and the waves and the rain have made in rocks and pebbles. He frees sculpture from a base and a set angle of view; his carvings have neither back nor front and are valid from all angles (see Fig. 9). He has acquired absolute mastery and tremendous feeling — an affinity almost — for his materials, so close is his understanding of their structure and their possibilities. His extraordinary knowledge of the human figure is expressed with all the implications of humanity, for which the figure is a symbol (see Figs. 10 and 11). We should also remember the strong early influence of Mexican and Negro and early Greek sculpture and the profound impression gained from the experience of seeing Massaccio's frescoes.

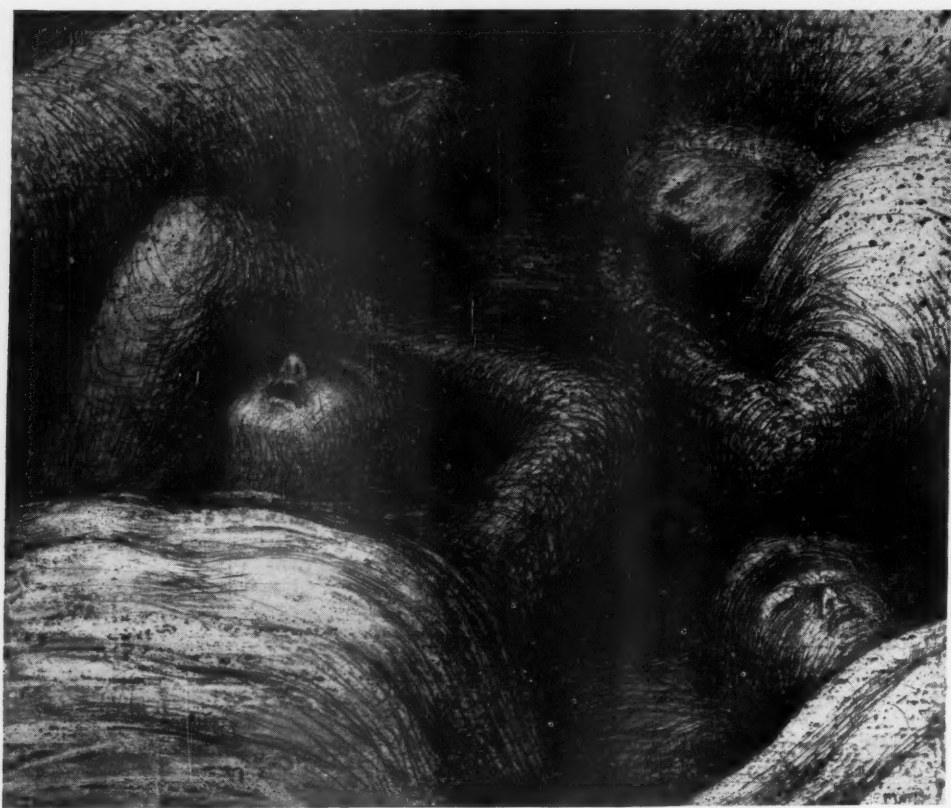


Fig. 6 HENRY MOORE: *Four Grey Sleepers* (Shelter Drawing, 1941)  
*Collection of the Artist*





Fig. 7 HENRY MOORE: *The Family*, 1945 (bronze)  
*Collection of the Artist*

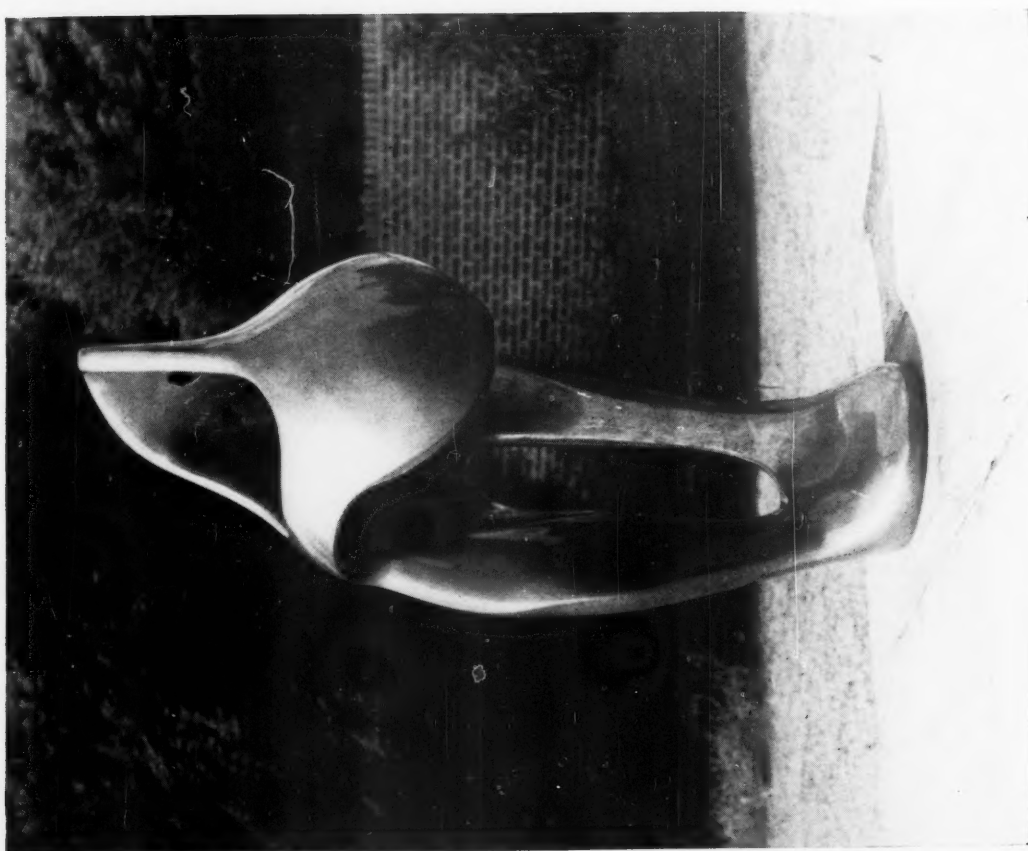


Fig. 8 HENRY MOORE: *Figure*, 1940 (lead)  
*Collection of the Artist*

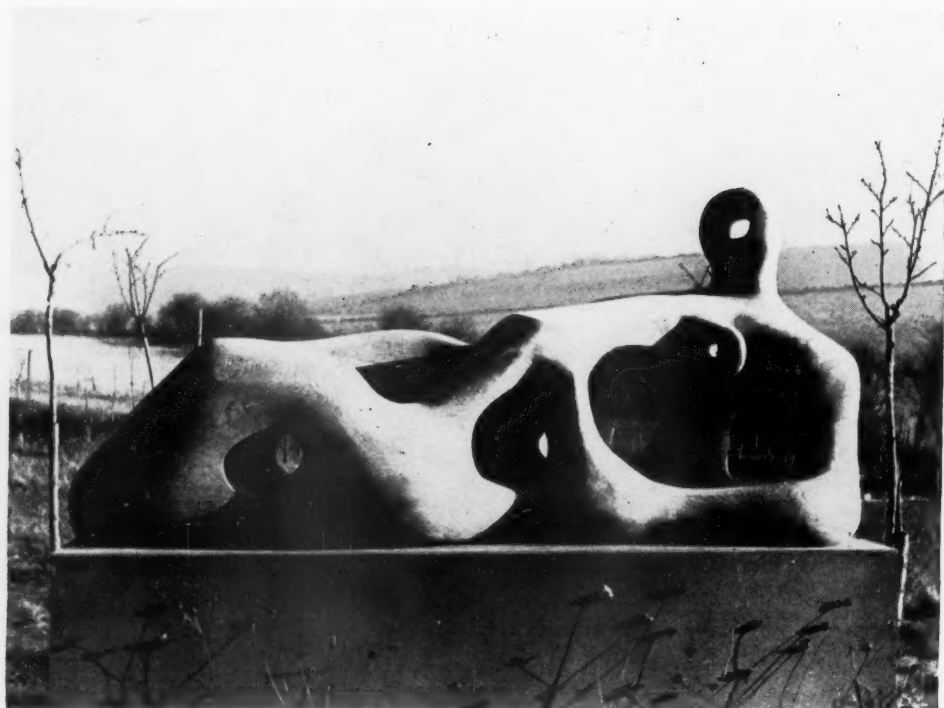


Fig. 9 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1939 (elm wood)  
*Elisabeth Ons oze-Ford Collection*



Fig. 10 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1930 (ironstone)  
*Private Collection*

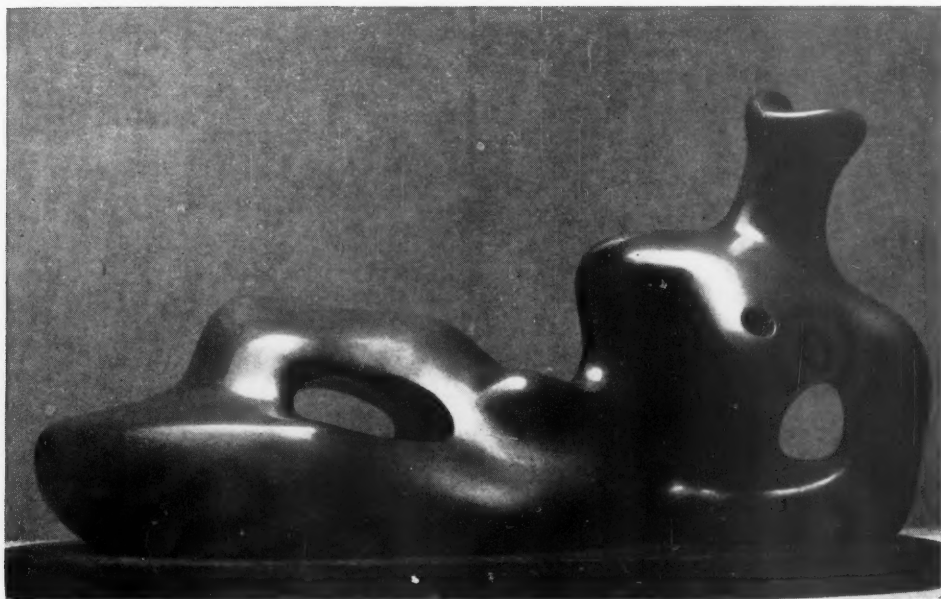


Fig. 11 HENRY MOORE: Reclining Figure, 1939 (lead)  
*Victoria and Albert Museum*



Fig. 12 HENRY MOORE: Sculpture, 1937 (birds'-eye marble)  
*A. Lancaster Lloyd Collection*

Moore's carving is not only shapes and forms judiciously set together, but his forms and figures must have a life of their own, as he describes so clearly himself:<sup>3</sup>

"For me a work must have a vitality of its own. I do not mean a reflection of the vitality of life, of movement, physical action, frisking, dancing figures, and so on, but that a work can have in it a pent-up energy, an intense life of its own, independent of the object it may represent. When work has this powerful vitality we do not connect the word beauty with it. Beauty in the later Greek or Renaissance sense, is not the aim in my sculpture.

"Between beauty of expression and power of expression there is a difference of function. The first aims at pleasing the senses, the second has a spiritual vitality which for me is more moving and goes deeper than the senses.

"Because a work does not aim at reproducing natural appearances it is not, therefore, an escape from life — but may be a penetration into reality, not a sedative or drug, not just the exercise of good taste, the provision of pleasant shapes and colours in a pleasing combination — not a decoration to life, but an expression of the significance of life, a stimulation to greater effort of living."

These are the words of the artist, who speaks directly out of experience and who has had no dealings with abstract aesthetics or mysticism or metaphysics. I think these words are so important that they should be pondered and analyzed for they will help to a fuller understanding of Moore's work, and actually to much of modern art. Moore's work displays a complete break-away from the pseudo aims of the decadent Greek period (after 500 B. C.) and middle and late Renaissance art, where the painter was trying to translate his three-dimensional view on a two-dimensional plane, the sculptor trying to translate flesh and blood into marble and wood — with the unnatural ideal of Beauty to conform to. Moore has saved sculpture from the dead art it became in the late Renaissance by going back to the elemental growths in nature, stripped of all meaningless decoration (see Figs. 12 and 13). And so we have living today a great artist, a man of courage, greatness of vision, invention, imagination and integrity. His work is vital and direct. Going to the very origins of form in life, his work has that quality of timelessness, agelessness and immortality which is manifest in all direct and free expressions of man's art

<sup>3</sup>*Unit One*, edited by Herbert Read, Cassell & Co., 1934, p. 30.





Fig. 13 HENRY MOORE: *The Helmet*, 1940 (lead)  
*Roland Penrose Collection*

instinct, from the earliest times of the Easter Island carvings and the animal drawings of the cave dwellers.

I can only end with Herbert Read's closing words, which are as true today as when he wrote them twelve years ago<sup>4</sup>: "The matter for wonder in his (Moore's) case, is the consistency of his course, the gathering power, the increasing clearness of his intention. The life of an original artist of any kind — painter, sculptor, poet, or musician is hard; only an unfailing integrity of purpose can carry him through those years of financial failure, of public neglect or derision, which are his inevitable lot. All but a few are compelled to compromise. There has been no compromise in the life of Henry Moore, and now, in the fullness of his powers, he offers us the perfected product of his genius."

<sup>4</sup>Herbert Read, "Henry Moore: Sculptor," (an Appreciation by Herbert Read with thirty-six plates), A Zwemmer, London, 1934, p. 16.



## ITALIAN MINIATURE PAINTINGS

From the Rodolphe Kann Collection

By WILLIAM SUIDA

Forest Hills, New York

IN ITALY the prominent miniaturists, the painters who during the 15th century decorated the magnificent manuscripts, had a high reputation as artists, not inferior to their colleagues who used to work on a larger scale. Sometimes the same man exercised both techniques. Other ones remained specialists in their field.

While in earlier periods the work of the miniaturist is aesthetically connected with the text, in the Renaissance a certain independence and self-sufficiency can be observed. This fact is one of the manifestations of the individualization which is characteristic of the period.

Therefore fragments of Renaissance manuscripts, initials, bordures, cut out from larger pages, can give an aesthetically satisfactory impression.

The group of such miniatures, formerly in the Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris, appears in Edouard Rahir's catalogue of the famous collection. But the text does not make any attempt to identify the authors of those high ranking pieces. Nor did the special literature on Italian miniature painting take any notice of them as far as I know. Hence it is justified to concentrate our interest on them, especially since most of them can be recognized as the works of definite well-known masters.<sup>1</sup>

At first glance they can be divided into groups of quite different local origin: Florentine, Lombard, Ferrarese.

The Incipit page of a Psalterium "Beatus Vir" — Blessed is the Man<sup>2</sup> — (the beginning of Psalm I) is a real masterpiece of Florentine miniature painting from about the middle of the 15th century (Fig. 1). The initial B contains a picture, King David kneeling and receiving Orders from God the Father; the half figures of St. John the Baptist and a bishop, probably S. Zenobius — both are the patron Saints of Florence — are inserted in the frame on top — between them, in gold, the word: PSALMVS — while at the bottom the scene of the Annunciation is depicted. Moreover, little heads, mostly in profile, are inserted in the beautiful tendrils and garlands.

The style of the figures recalls especially Fra Angelico, in the figures of the Annunciation also Masolino. As a whole this magnificent minia-

<sup>1</sup>Edouard Rahir, *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection, Objects d'Art*, vol. I, Middle Age and Renaissance, Paris, 1907.

<sup>2</sup>Vellum 15 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. R. Kann Catalogue No. 76: "Italian School, Lombardy, 15th century."

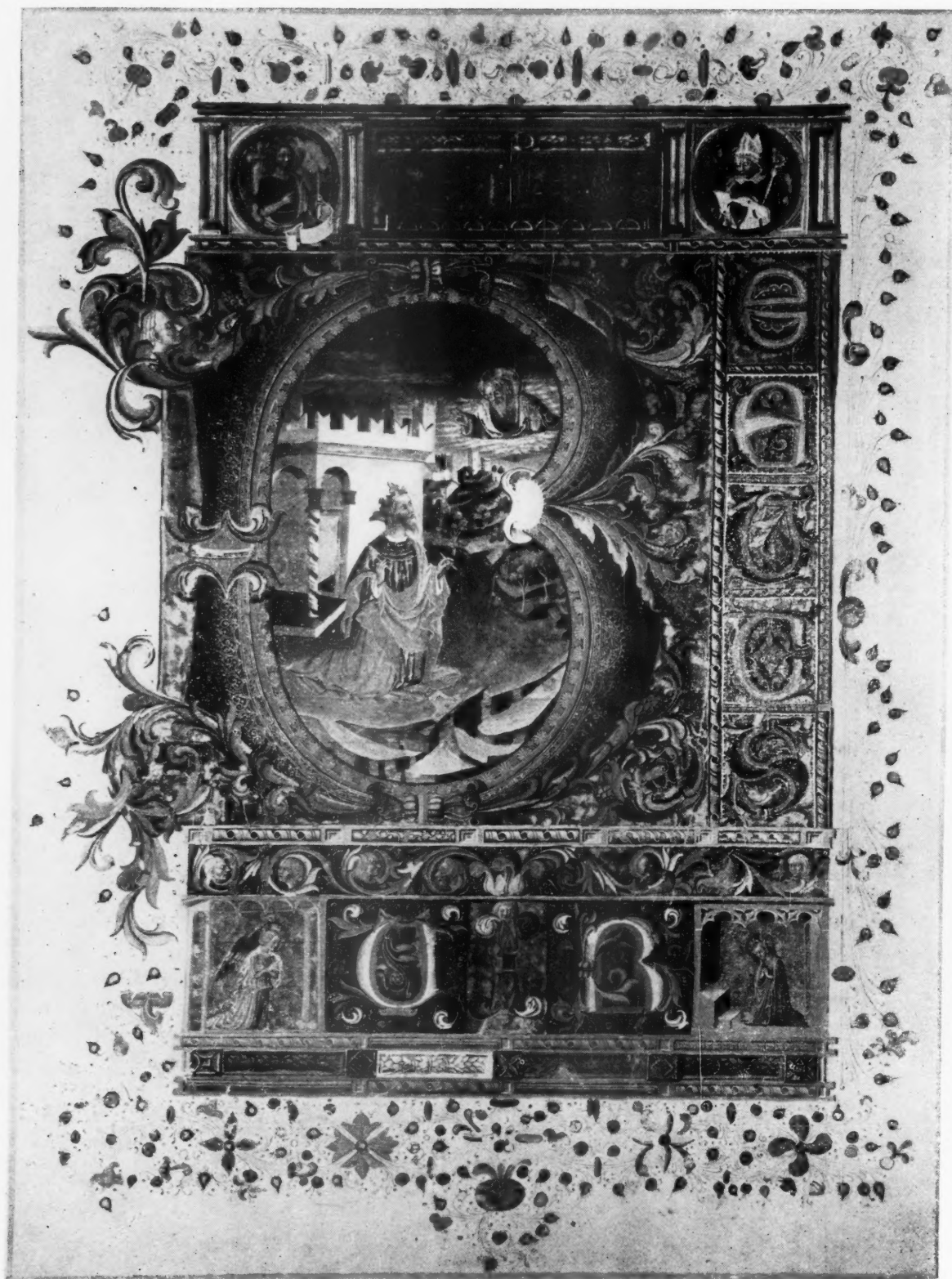


Fig. 1 ZANOBI STROZZI: Incipit page of a Psalterium  
*Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris*

ture is stylistically closely connected with the group of the liturgical books which, in the years 1446-1453, were decorated for the Dominican Monastery of San Marco in Florence commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici.

The documents give full evidence that the Florentine painter Zanobi de' Strozzi,<sup>3</sup> assisted by Filippo di Matteo Torelli in the decorative borders, is the excellent artist. Before the documents had been discovered Fra Angelico's brother, Fra Benedetto da Mugello, had been credited with the authorship. In fact the style of the figures is very similar to Fra Angelico's art.

Zanobi, a member of the famous Strozzi family, was born in Florence, November 17, 1412, and died December 6, 1468. He has been buried in the family vault in S. Maria Novella. Since 1436 he is mentioned in documents. On the basis of his authentic miniatures modern critics have recognized Zanobi's authorship in some paintings which again are closely connected with Fra Angelico's works.

The present Incipit page of a Psalterium is certainly Zanobi Strozzi's work in the figural parts, while the decorative framework may have been executed by Filippo Torelli, Strozzi's co-worker in the San Marco Codices. As a whole this is a masterpiece of Florentine painting about the middle of the 15th century, a fascinating document of the spring days of the Early Renaissance.

The most successful Florentine miniature painter during the last decades of the 15th and at the beginning of the 16th century was Attavante di Gabriello di Vante di Francesco di Bartolo, born in 1452, died before 1517. Beside his activity for the Medici, for Mathias Corvinus, the King of Hungary, and other patrons, he was highly appreciated as a universal artist by his fellow countrymen who in 1503 chose him as a member of the committee which had to decide about the placing of Michelangelo's David.

The style of this master<sup>4</sup> is easily recognizable in the Initial D adorned with the scene of the Pentecost (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> In the Hoepli Collection, Milan, there is an Initial N adorned with the same scene of the "Descent of the Holy Spirit"<sup>6</sup> which shows close stylistic connection with the present

<sup>3</sup>P. D'Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, Florence, 1914. P. D'Ancona, *La Miniature Italienne*, Paris, 1924. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. X, The Hague, 1928.

<sup>4</sup>Thieme-Becker, *Kuenstlerlexikon* II, 1908; D'Ancona, *Miniatura Fiorentina*, 1914; R. van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, XIII, 1931, p. 466 fol.

<sup>5</sup>Vellum 6½ x 7½ inches; Kann Catalogue, vol. I, No. 81 ("Italian School, End of the 15th century").

<sup>6</sup>Pietro Toesca, *Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana. La Collezione di Ulrico Hoepli*, Milano, 1930, No. CXLIV.



Fig. 2 ATTAVANTE: Initial D with the Scene of the Pentecost  
Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris

miniature. Here the figures, in three-quarter length, appear in front of a neutral background while the Hoepli initial includes the whole scenery, the building where in the upper floor the mysterious and solemn event is taking place.

Evidently the Kann miniature is an earlier work by the famous painter who seems to follow here rather the style of Benozzo Gozzoli than that of Ghirlandajo, Botticini, and the leading monumental painters of the late Quattrocento.

The most numerous group among the Kann miniatures is of Lombard origin. The earliest of the group (Fig. 3) is the front page of the "Libro Secondo della Historia Naturale di C. Plinio secondo tradotta di lingua Latina in Fiorentina per Christophoro Landino Fiorentino al Serenissimo



Ferdinando Re di Napoli," printed at Venice by Nicolo Jenson in 1476.<sup>7</sup>

The Scholar, wearing an ermine collar, measuring the globe, is probably Ptolomaeus who was believed to have been of Royal descent. The leafless tree in a winterly barren country at the left is explained by an inscription: RENO · VERA meaning: (Si) rinnoverà (it will come to life again).

Several elements point to the authorship of the well-known miniaturist: Cristoforo de' Predis.<sup>8</sup> The style of the figures corresponds to his signed works, the landscapes are similar in character (even in the rocky cleft ground), to those in the illustrations for the months in the Borromeo Prayer Book in the Ambrosiana. In the same manuscript as well as in the missale of the Sacro Monte near Varese (painted in 1476) we find those typical funnel-shaped garlands of foliage which in the Pliny title page occur at the left side. Finally the scroll motive of the upper border had been varied by Cristoforo in the pictures of the months in the Borromeo Prayer Book, Ambrosiana.

As early as 1471, Cristoforo de' Predis, together with his younger brother Giovanni Ambrogio (who later on became the co-worker of Leonardo da Vinci) decorated a manuscript with miniatures. He died before the year 1486. In my opinion the present title page decoration originated in or immediately after 1476.

The magnificent page of a Corale (Fig. 4)<sup>9</sup> containing a large composition representing the Flagellation of Christ shows the characteristics of a leading Lombard miniature painter of the end of the 15th century.

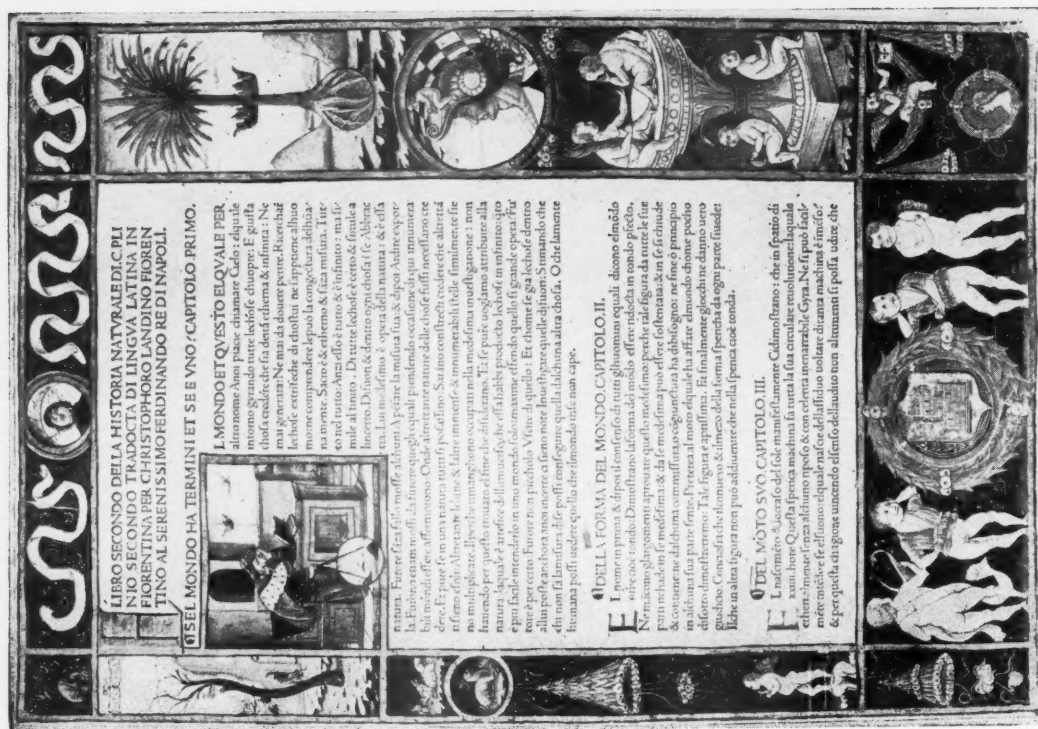
At the very first glance the Mantegnesque character can be observed. The architectural scenery as well as the man at the left side depend upon the art of the Paduan master. However, it has to be pointed out that the painter of the present miniature did not imitate Mantegna's engraving of the Flagellation of Christ (B 1), as a second-rate artist probably would have done. Several elements lead me to assume that the author of the Kann miniature is nobody else than Fra Antonio da Monza.

The starting point for our knowledge of this prominent master is a large miniature painting representing "the Descent of the Holy Spirit," in the Albertina, Vienna, signed "Fra Antonii di Modoetia Minorista opus — G. De." Some critics have attributed other miniatures and even some

<sup>7</sup>15½ x 10½ inches. Kann Catalogue I, No. 84, "Italian School, End of the 15th century." The author of the Kann Catalogue identifies the coat of arms as that of the Spigliati family of Florence: A silver tower flanked by two golden rampant lions. This statement has to be verified.

<sup>8</sup>L. Beltrami, *Il Libro d'Ore Borromeo*, Milano, 1896. The same: *L'Arte negli Arredi Sacri della Lombardia*, 1897. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, I, III, Milano 1913-1917, Leo Baer in Thieme-Becker, *Kuenstlerlexikon* XXVII, 1933.

<sup>9</sup>Vellum, 18 x 14½ inches, R. Kann Catalogue, No. 78.





engravings to Fra Antonio, whereas the most cautious scholars insist that only the signed miniature can indubitably be regarded as his work. I don't insist to discuss here in full this rather complicated problem. But I want to refer to Fra Antonio's signed work only when championing his authorship of the Kann miniature. The clear connection of the page representing the "Flagellation of Christ" with the Albertina miniature cannot be denied. The style of the figures is very similar. It is true that in the "Flagellation" their character is more Mantegnesque, whereas in the "Pentecost" Bramantesque and even Leonardesque elements predominate. But even so, the personal and very peculiar stylization of the drapery has not changed: Compare for instance the garments of the man at the left in the "Flagellation" with those of the Young Apostle at the right in the "Pentecost." Furthermore, the architecture has an analogous function and is similar in decorative details in both compositions: Compare for instance the ornaments on the pilasters. Finally, special emphasis has to be given to the fact that the decorative elements in the magnificent bordures show closest analogy in the Flagellation-page and in Fra Antonio's Albertina miniature. Here the sumptuous border is fully preserved but severed from the Pentecost scene, while in the Kann-page the border at the bottom, and perhaps a narrow border strip at the right side have been cut off.

The original size of the page may have been the same as that of a magnificent page, presumably from the same Manuscript, also in the Kann collection.<sup>10</sup> A section of a Psalm is surrounded by an elaborate frame decorated with arabesques, flowers, candelabres, vases, griffons, birds. The motives in the frames of the Flagellation, the Psalm-text, and the Albertina fragments are completely homogeneous. All three can easily be attributed to the same master or studio.

Fra Antonio's signed work contains in a medallion the portrait of Pope Alexander III (1492-1503). This gives the approximate date of origin. Since the young Apostle at the left is inspired by the motive of the Angel in Leonardo's "Vierge aux Rochers" (London version), and the kneeling Angel adoring Christ in the frame repeats the motive of little St. John in the same work of the great Florentine, we may conclude that the Albertina miniature originated during the last years of the 15th century, if not even later.

Fra Antonio must have had the opportunity to see Leonardo's second version of "The Virgin of the Rocks" which had been begun certainly before 1499 even though it had not been finished until 1508.

<sup>10</sup>Vellum 20¾ x 15 inches. Kann Catalogue, vol. I, No. 79.

Evidently the "Flagellation" is a somewhat earlier work by Fra Antonio. A painter, Antonio da Monza, is mentioned in a document in Padua, as early as 1456. If he could be identified with the author of the signed Vienna miniature, as some scholars believe, the Mantegnesque elements in the "Flagellation" would be easily explained. On the other hand it is unlikely that Fra Antonio, the author of the Albertina miniature, could have belonged almost to the generation of Mantegna himself.<sup>11</sup>

A series of engravings by Zoan Andrea shows some analogies with the motives in the decorative frames in Fra Antonio's miniatures. It has to be mentioned that the man at the right side in the "Flagellation of Christ," whose tights are torn at the knees, recalls an analogous figure in an Initial containing the scene of the "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" in the Hoepli Collection, rightly attributed by Pietro Toesca<sup>12</sup> to the Lombard School of the transition from the XVth to the XVIth century. As a whole the Kann "Flagellation" is superior in quality to the Hoepli Initial. Nineteen Initials, cut out from an Antiphonary, and rearranged on three sheets (Eight and eight and three), reveal their Lombard origin in their artistic character as well as iconographically.<sup>13</sup>

Eight Initials have been placed in two columns of four on a vellum sheet. In two larger initials, the full length figures of St. John the Baptist, respectively St. Anne holding the Virgin with the Infant Christ in her Arm, with landscapes in the background, are represented (Fig. 5). Four smaller initials are adorned with the individual half figures of St. Anthony the Abbot, St. George, St. Ambrose and St. Agnes, two with pairs of martyr-monks, respectively young martyrs in the habits of noblemen. These two young noblemen can easily be identified: they are St. Gervasius and Prothasius, two typically Milanese Saints. Many art lovers will remember their representation in an altarpiece by Ambrogio Borgognone in the Certosa di Pavia. The other pair of martyrs, a diacon reading a book and a monk of the order of St. Benedict, cannot be identified as easily.

The second set of eight Initials contains St. Jerome kneeling in the desert, St. Lucy, a monk holding a lily, presumably St. William of Montpelier, St. Michel, a bishop with a book, St. Nicholas of Bari, the insignia of the Passion of Christ, finally two Apostles.

On the third sheet three Initials have been placed. The full length figure of St. Agatha as well as of St. Sebastian can easily be identified,

<sup>11</sup>For Fra Antonio da Monza see: P. Kristeller in Thieme-Becker *Kuenstlerlexikon* II, 1908, and *Lombardische Graphik*, 1913. F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico Moro III*, 1917.

<sup>12</sup>Pietro Toesca, *Monumenti e Studi per la Storia della Miniatura Italiana, La Collezione Ultrico Hoepli*, Milano 1930, No. CIX, Tav. CIII.

<sup>13</sup>Kann Catalogue No. 75, attributed to the "Italian School, End of the 15th century."



Fig. 5 LOMBARD MINIATURE PAINTER, END XV CENTURY: Initials  
Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris

while the canonized Pope accompanied by two young Saints can not be given a definite name.<sup>14</sup>

These miniatures are certainly works by a Lombard artist of the late 15th century. The closest stylistic analogies can be found in the richly illuminated Missale in the archive of the Milan Cathedral which had been presented by Lodovico il Moro to his friend, the Archbishop Guido Antonio Arcimboldi.<sup>15</sup> Since a full page in this Missale represents the investiture of Lodovico il Moro with the Duchy of Milan, the miniatures can be dated 1495 or immediately after. The figures as well as the ornamental elements of the nineteen initials of the Kann collection are homogeneous with those in the Arcimboldi Missale. They originated presumably in the same studio within the last decade of the 15th century.

In the Kann collection exist two examples of the School of Ferrara, where miniature painting flourished during the 15th century.

<sup>14</sup>The Kann Catalogue calls the Pope St. Clement.

<sup>15</sup>Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico Moro III* (1917), p. 175 fol.

The Initial "Q" (Fig. 6)<sup>16</sup> is formed by the bodies of two dragons, the head of one designating the tail of the "Q." The motive is influenced by Chinese art, and can be observed in Ferrarese paintings as well as in miniatures. An almost identical monster is defeated by St. George in Cosimo Tura's painting in the Ferrara Cathedral.

The dragons Taddeo Crivelli (active 1452-1476) inserted in the frame work of the Title page of the Genesis in the Bible of the Duke Borso D'Este<sup>17</sup> are similar in type. The strange character of the landscape in the background of the "Nativity," especially the precipitous rocks, are

<sup>16</sup>Vellum, 6½ x 7½ inches, Kann Catalogue I, No. 80, "Italian School, End of the 15th century."

<sup>17</sup>Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cf. H. J. Hermann, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des A. H. Kaiserhauses XXI*, Wien, 1900, Tafel XI.



Fig. 6 FERRARESE MINIATURE PAINTER, XV CENTURY:  
Initial Q with Scene of the Nativity  
Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris



known from Taddeo Crivelli's and Guglielmo Giraldi's (active 1445-1477) miniatures in the Borso Bible. We are familiar with decorative elements, such as the climbing putti and the stylized foliage curled up to spherical shape, again from Ferrarese manuscripts.

The style of the figures in the "Nativity" is influenced in a generic way by Ercole de' Roberti rather than by any other of the leading masters.

In another miniature in the Kann collection of Ferrarese origin, representing the Initial "M" with the scene of the Annunciation (Fig. 7),<sup>18</sup> the personal characteristics of a known miniaturist are more easily recognizable. The style of the figures as well as of the decorative framework point to Guglielmo Giraldi whose activity is recorded in the documents of Ferrara from 1445 until 1477. Such works as for instance the title page of the Graduale N from the Certosa, Ferrara,<sup>19</sup> in the Museo Schifanoja, show similar heavy acanthus tendrils accompanied at the contours by fine dotted lines and combined in the initials with severe classicistic vase-shaped motives. Even the round golden dots whose brightness is accentuated by thin radial lines, can be found in the Ferrara Graduale as well as in the border of the Kann Initial.

A miniature painting representing "Christ Blessing a Group of Saints" (Fig. 8)<sup>20</sup> on the verso a beautiful monochrome ornament, is a full-page illumination, if it had ever been connected with a prayer book. Christ is surrounded by eleven Saints; in the foreground a peacock, as the symbol of Immortality, and two white rabbits can be observed. Among the Saints, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Peter, St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen (or Maria Egyptiaca) at the left, the little child St. Simon of Trento at the right, can be identified. Two young noblemen might be called Faustinus and Jovita. If this be correct, one of the female Saints would be St. Afra, the third protector Saint of Brescia, and the bishop Apollonius. This interpretation would connect the whole painting with the city of Brescia. However, it has to be mentioned that there are relics of these Saints also in Verona.

This miniature is stylistically closely connected with two manuscripts, which are preserved respectively in Vienna and Wolfenbuettel. In the Vienna "Breviarium Romanum" ordinis S. Augustini, dated 1481, as well as in the Wolfenbuettel Cod. 277 A Ext. with mythological compositions, the same style of figures, the same rocks in the background, the same ground with little pebbles, a peacock and white rabbits, can be found.

<sup>18</sup>Vellum, 8 x 6¾ inches, Kann Catalogue I, No. 82, "Italian School, End of the 15th century."

<sup>19</sup>See; Hermann, *l. c.*, Tafel XXI.

<sup>20</sup>On vellum, 6 x 4 inches. Kann Catalogue No. 74, "Milanese School, End of the 15th century."



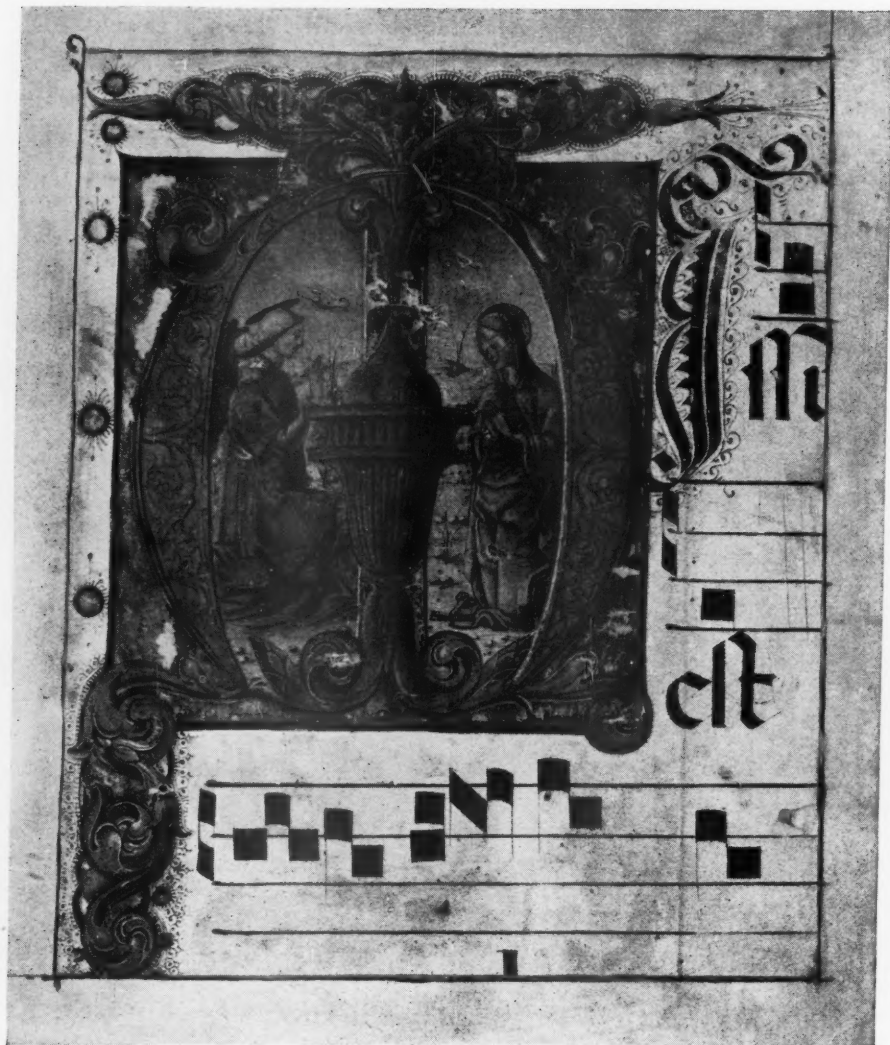


Fig. 7 GUGLIELMO GIRARDI: Initial M with the Scene of the Annunciation  
*Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris*

Paolo D'Ancona does not hesitate to attribute the Wolfenbuettel miniatures to Liberale da Verona (1445-1529).<sup>21</sup> If he is right, then Liberale is the author of the present beautiful miniature too. The similarity in the treatment of several details in the Kann miniature with Girolamo da Cremona's works is not to be overlooked. Girolamo had worked together with Liberale in the miniatures of the Piccolomini codices in the Siena Cathedral.

<sup>21</sup>*L'Arte* X, 1907.

The Initial L from an Antiphonary, adorned with the picture of St. Augustine at his Writing Desk,<sup>22</sup> is an exceptional work (Fig. 9).

This miniature shows the closest stylistic connection with the 28 paintings of philosophers, poets, and doctors of the Church, which once adorned the library of the Duke Federico da Montefeltro in the Palace at Urbino. Not only the compositional scheme is almost identical, but even details, such as the flat ceiling with undisguised beams, gothic ornaments in the

<sup>22</sup>Vellum, 8 x 5½ inches. R. Kann Catalogue, No. 77, "Italian School, End of the 15th century."



Fig. 8 LIBERALE DA VERONA: Christ Blessing a Group of Saints  
*Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris*



Fig. 9 PEDRO BERRUGUETE: St. Augustine, Initial L  
*Formerly Rodolphe Kann Collection, Paris*

furniture, etc. can be observed here as well as there. I would like to mention especially the half figures of Hippocrates, Albertus Magnus, Bartolo Sentinates in Urbino, Solon, Aristotle, Vittorino da Feltre, in the Louvre. St. Augustine (Louvre) and St. Ambrosius (Urbino) wear even similar mitres and pluviales.

By about 1476 the decoration of Federico's library had been executed, and the examination of the original paintings shows that at least two different artists had shared in the work. One part can be attributed to the Flemish painter Iodocus van Ghent, the other part to a certain Pietro Spagnolo, mentioned in a document at Urbino in 1477, now generally identified with Pedro Berruguete el Viejo, who, in 1483, was again in Spain, where he died in 1503.

It is the part, now unanimously attributed to Pedro Berruguete<sup>23</sup> which shows the closest stylistic connection with the present miniature. There exists at least one miniature painting more which seems to be by the same hand: The bust of Christ "Salvator" on an altar adorned by two kneeling donors, painted on vellum, in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.<sup>24</sup> It seems to me quite possible and even probable, that both miniature paintings are the works of Pedro Berruguete himself.

Not only the doctors, philosophers and poets in Urbino, but also the half-figures of prophets in Berruguete's retablo de S. Lucia in Paredes de Nava,<sup>25</sup> show close stylistic connection with the St. Augustine miniature. Possibly some day a thorough research in Spanish illuminated manuscripts will throw more light on this interesting problem.

The above text will have shown to the reader that the Kann Miniatures, although not very numerous, enrich considerably our knowledge of such an enchanting special field as Italian Quattrocento Miniature Painting.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup>R. Longhi, F. Allende Salazar and Conte C. Gamba were the first to recognize Berruguete's participation at the decoration of the Urbino studiolo. The material is summarized by C. Gnudi in the Catalogue of the "Mostra di Melozzo," Forli, 1938. Hulin de Loo, Pedro Berruguete et les portraits d'Urbino, Editions de la librairie Encyclopédique, 1942.

<sup>24</sup>Published by Ad. Venturi, *Studi dal Vero*, Milano, Hoepli, 1927, p. 125 fol. as "Maniera di Melozzo."

<sup>25</sup>See J. Allende Salazar, Pedro Berruguete en Italia, *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, No. 8, 1927.

<sup>26</sup>I want to express my gratitude to the Morgan Library and its Director, Belle da Costa Greene, for facilitating my research on Italian miniature paintings.



## BASIC PHASES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL FORM

By JOHN FABIAN KIENITZ

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### PART I

IN THE *Massachusetts Magazine* for July, 1789 there is a short, suggestive summary of at least three phases of colonial architectural style. It occurs in a description of the stone house built in Boston from 1737 by Thomas Hancock, a house destined to be the home of his famous nephew, John (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The writer saw the Hancock pile like this: "The principal building is of hewn stone, finished not altogether in the modern stile, nor yet in the Gothic taste."

"Gothic taste" is a tag to place over the varied architectural expression of the seventeenth century. "In the modern stile" could refer to the flourishing Adam modes of the moment. Neither the one nor the other is the Hancock house with its single monumental mass and vigorous detail. What it shows is Palladianism in its tough initial exertions. More particularly, the Hancock house continues those English translations of Palladian canons effected for England itself by Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren and their friends and enemies. Jones set down his convictions in some notes dating from January, 1614 and incorporated in his sketchbook. In them he makes a plea for scholarly, prearranged *gravity* as central in an Englishman's ideal of architectural beauty. For his exteriors Jones wanted a decor at once solid, proportioned by precept, masculine, and unaffected. These are his words.<sup>2</sup>

The *Massachusetts Magazine's* critic would have seen his taste confirmed had he been lucky enough to read, as we are (thanks to Harold Donaldson Eberlein), the diary of Nicholas Pickford who came to Philadelphia from England in 1786 after an earlier visit in 1765.<sup>3</sup> Pickford's is the finest kind of contemporary evidence. And we use much of it here because it hasn't received the attention it deserves and because it furthers our insight into what men of the Age of Reason actually felt before a building of taste.

<sup>1</sup>Vol. I, 395-396.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in full by J. Alfred Gotch in his *Inigo Jones*, 81-82.

<sup>3</sup>"Further Passages from the Diary of Nicholas Pickford Esquire, Relating to his Travels in Pennsylvania in 1786. Now Edited for the first time." *The Architectural Review*, (London), Vol. 48, (July, 1920), 27-31. See also the same author's earlier article concerning Pickford's 1765 visit, *Ibid.*, Vol. 47, (1920), 141-146.



On the morning of May 24th, 1786, Pickford was met by William Hamilton, owner of Woodlands, an impressive Adam-style mansion dating from 1770. Hamilton called for his guest in a yellow chariot drawn by four horses, with two outriders rigged in purple finery to round it out. Woodlands was everything the Englishman had heard of it. It overlooked a most delightful ground. Woodlands stood on a rise of ground near a bend of the Schuylkill, commanding "a broad Water View besides a most agreeable Rural Prospect, partly wooded partly open, towards the South and Southwest."

Approach to it was by a north front. Across the center of this side of the house were six monumental Ionic pilasters supporting a "well-proportioned" entablature whose frieze was amplified by fluting and paterae, the whole topped by a pediment. Before this side was a low, broad, paved terrace filling the space between two elliptical bays that projected from the east and west ends of the house. Between the two central pilasters was an entrance. It in turn was flanked by pillars crowned with segmental pediments, all framing a round arched door with leaded fanlight.

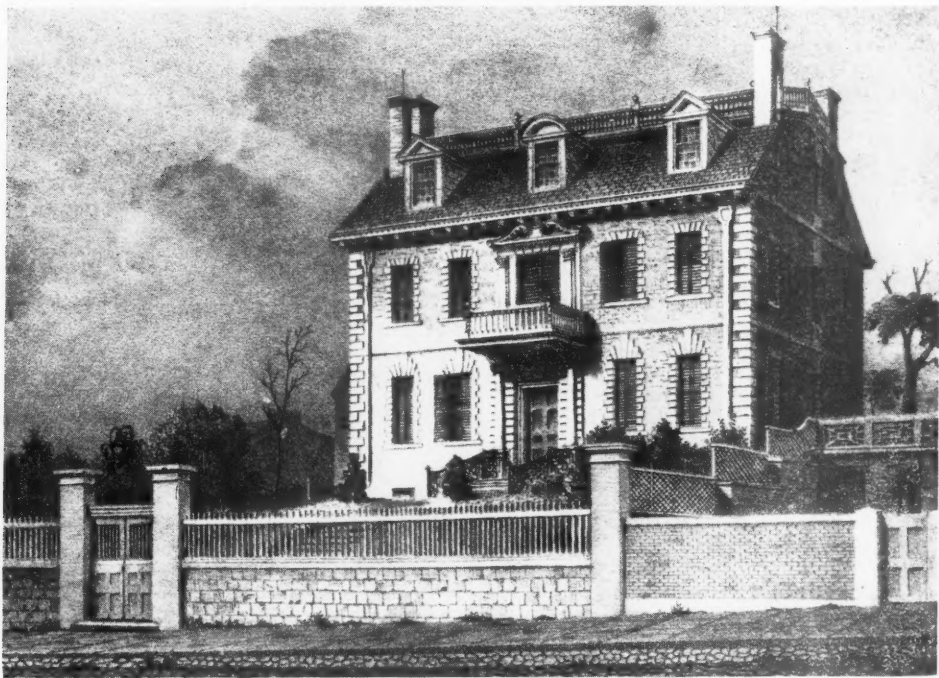


Fig. 1 THOMAS HANCOCK HOUSE, 1737-41, Boston, Mass.

*Courtesy the Essex Institute, Salem*

On the south elevation to the riverside was a monumental pillared portico and pediment. To each side of it sunk in a shallow Adamite niche was what Pickford saw as "an admirably well-devised Palladian Window." From the raised portico three matched doors gave access to a ballroom. External walling at Woodlands was laid up in rubble or random ashlar of native Pennsylvania grey stone, overwashed with a light cream yellow except for the center sections of both the north and south elevations. These most important parts of the main exteriors were stuccoed and then topped with the same cream yellow wash. The pilasters, entablature, and pediment of the north front and all of the big south portico as well as the uninterrupted cornice were of wood, painted white.

Pickford found the interiors as "knowing" as the exteriors had been. Entrance was made from the north front into a circular, domed hall containing four doors and two semi-circular niches vertically defined by eight engaged columns. Over these columns came "an exquisitely detailed Entablature" from which the ceiling's flattened dome was sprung. "Never," declares Pickford, "have I seen a more satisfying and justly proportioned Hall designed in the Style for whose Introduction into England we have chiefly to thank Robert and James Adam." From this hall and through a short corridor to the right, one came to the drawing room, "a large Room of perfectly Oval Shape, lighted by a great Window on the North Side, opposite to the Fireplace, and three Windows in the Western Bay, whose elliptical Lines complete the Oval."

Left of the domed hall, Pickford passed from a stair hall into the dining room, an architectural and decorative twin of the drawing room. Directly opposite the entrance or north door was another which opened from the main hall into the grand ball room. The ball room was "an oblong Apartment well-nigh five and forty, or perhaps fifty, feet in length . . . with recessed elliptical Tribune ends, in each of which is a door flanked by two semi-circular Niches." At the west end, another door took Pickford into the library. At the eastern end, one came into the breakfast room. Light came in through the three glazed doors that let out onto the portico.

On the following day in the company of his host, Pickford saw the gardens. They were worthy of the house. He praises Hamilton's gardening abilities: "He hath imported many rare and curious Plants, Shrubs, and Trees from all quarters of the Globe, most of which are now flourishing in this very Paradise." We learn that at dinner on the day before the Englishman had ventured to praise Woodlands' good design to Mrs. Andrew Hamilton. He found that she had the distaff side's viewpoint. She

had a somewhat different, quite Yankee set of values. She "complained of the amount of waste space in the House occasioned by the Oval rooms and the circular Hall." But the connoisseur was unwilling to grant the justice of her complaint. He pointed out that such intervening spaces were useful as "concealed Staircases, Cupboards, and the like." And then he confides to his diary an appeal to beauty as a prime necessity. "Besides," he writes, "do we not owe something to what old Sir Henry Wotton called the 'Condition of Delight' in Architecture?" His host evidently felt that we did. For the Englishman noted that even the stables shone with "symmetrical Elegancy."

William Hamilton took his guest to see John Penn who had built Solitude for himself in 1782:

" . . . and hath built himself an House — it is no more than a Box, four-square, six-and-twenty feet in each direction — called 'The Solitude' . . . Most of the ground floor is taken up by a Parlour extending clear across the whole House. An Hall, nine feet wide, with a Staircase, occupies all the rest of the ground floor. The House outside is simplicity itself, but well proportioned. Within there is more heed to the Amenities and Elegance of Ornament. In the Parlour is an excellent Ceiling delicately wrought in the modern Mode, such as Richardson or Robert and James Adam design to be executed with Moulds. The Frieze, too, is good. The Staircase is adorned with a wrought iron Handrail according to the best present Fashion. . . ."

The *Massachusetts Magazine's* critic may have had comparable elegant amenities in mind when he referred to houses finished altogether in the modern style. Pickford would have backed him in his repudiation of the Hancock house as curious, as an archaic gesture towards good taste. Pickford's Woodlands rhapsody is sung for a style of which the Hancock Palladianism shows no sign. The Hancock house is summed up in rectangles and squares and uneasy curves of structure. But Woodlands has oval rooms, domed ceilings, elliptical bays, and maturest classic study of detail. Woodlands expresses the colonial idea of Robert Adam's conventions of building. The Hancock house is a colonial example of work done by a society which follows men like Palladian Sir Roger Pratt (1620-1684) in a philosophy of building. Sir Roger was a friend of Wren's, the builder of Coleshill, and Charles II's Commissioner for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. Sir Roger was as forceful with words as with stone. His notebooks tell us "How Suddenly to Comprehend All Things in a Building":

"The first thing to be considered is that of situation; as whether upon a plain ground, low or rising. And next the position of the house, in regard of the four winds, the conveniences about it, and the ways conducting to it. In both which if we find not what is best, we are not presently to blame it, but are rather to seek after the occasion

of it, which we many times at length find to have so necessitated it. From thence we proceed to observe the length of the building, and also the height of it (which will be best taken one corner of it) and into how many parts each line has been divided by the windows in it. Which done, we mark in one perpendicular successively the several proportions, and ornaments of them, then the spaces including them, the bounding of each storey, and lastly the top finishing. From the end we remove to the middle of the front, the place of entering from whence the uniformity of the whole is most perfectly seen, and where if there be anything extraordinary it is there placed, and is accordingly to be noted. In a more curious inquiry we gently move our eye through the whole length of each particular storey, and afterwards cross them down again in their perpendicular divisions, by which means the least fault will scarce want its discovery. After this we view the roof, of what pitch and slope, how bounded at the bottom, how covered at the ridge, what windows and chimneys appearing out of it, with their number, order, fashion, and all their dimensions. And having thus taken in such an idea of the whole, we are at length at leisure to consider the nature and quality of the materials, and the working, laying, jointing, and carving etc. of them, and we are afterwards to judge according to the rules of art of each particular."<sup>4</sup>

The Hancock house exterior is a part-to-part following of the procedures advocated by Sir Roger and his contemporaries. The latter used such devices when they ventured into the theory and practice of monumental structures. On a modest domestic scale, the Hancock house is, inside and out, Palladianism transplanted to the colonies. It will have to be watered by tact before it takes root in the native soil.

Because his house was destroyed in the interests of civic progress in 1863 we have only early illustrations and photographs and some surviving fragments, variously kept, to help us in an analysis of its style. We get some notion of its scope when we learn that it was some four years in the building, being taken over for residence in 1741.<sup>5</sup> Its central staircase hall and staircase proper have been incorporated in a house in Manchester, Mass., a house which we are unfortunately unable to identify further. The main entrance framing is now owned by the Bostonian Club in the Old State House, where, once seen, it freshens the memory of countless counterparts the colonies over. These surviving details herald the carved and turned, spiral and reverse twist intricacies of many mid-century or later newel posts, balusters, and hand rails. For the present let it be enough to say that formal kinship with the Hancock house beginnings of Palladianism are to be found even so late as the halcyon days of the Young Republic. Treatment of detail in at least two of Providence, Rhode Island's "Big

<sup>4</sup>R. T. Gunther, (editor), *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, (1928), 45-46. This book is perhaps the most useful source available for an understanding of seventeenth-century architectural technique and philosophy in England.

<sup>5</sup>Walter Kendall Watkins, "The Hancock House and its Builder," *Old-Time New England*, Vol. 17, (July, 1926), 3-19.



Four" bears this out. The Hancock carving is remembered in the John Brown house of 1786 (Fig. 2) and the Joseph Nightingale house of 1792 (Fig. 3).

As Walter Kendall Watkins and the Hancock family papers show, Thomas Hancock wanted his home to reflect the latest London taste. His intentions are clear in letters like the one he wrote to John Rowe, a London stationer, on January 23rd, 1738.<sup>6</sup> Hancock sends Rowe the dimensions of a room for which he wants a Chinese wallpaper from London. He wants this "shaded Hanging," that is to say, this chiaroscuro paper, to be patterned after a sample of another paper which he has given to a Captain Tanner for safe delivery to Rowe. This paper is to go into his new home, then building. The letter includes a Yankee plea for wallpaper at once well and cheaply done. He will be most gratified "if they can make it more Beautifull by adding more Birds flying here & there, with some Landskip at the Bottom." What Hancock has in mind is a paper which had been made some three or four years before for a friend, Samuel Waldon of Boston. The Waldon paper pictured a "Great Variety of Different Sorts of Birds, Peacocks, Macoys, Squirril, Monkys, Fruit & Flowers." Hancock wants Rowe to seek out the designer of Waldon's paper, one Dunbar of Aldermanbury, London. He is almost pathetically solicitous of getting papered quality on his walls. He intended to finish at least three main rooms with this kind of hanging. He insists to Rowe that it is "handsomeer & Better than Painted hangings Done in Oyle."

These London witcheries once splashed round the Hancock hearth underline the interior as the Connecticut brownstone trim and local granite underline the external tone. It took a rugged, one might say an almost primitive background of big ashlar, to carry this load of rustication and quoining, not to mention the almost-orientally flared scroll brackets and pediments and elongated pilasters of the focused center of the house. The composition of the entrance and balcony center and surround falls apart with its detail of complex addition. We have the main floor calling for the eye's attention. Then the overly-jutted balcony and its long corbels and Roman-sized balustrade. Back of this and above it is a door to rival and surpass the one below. In later handling of this part of the exterior the composition of the elements mentioned above will be unified into a single effect, a force moving in one direction for our approval.

On the Hancock house, masonic exuberance is held in partial check by the precise, Sir Roger Pratt-like definition of the wall compartments

<sup>6</sup>Halsey-Tower, *Homes of Our Ancestors*, (New York, 1931), 141-142.



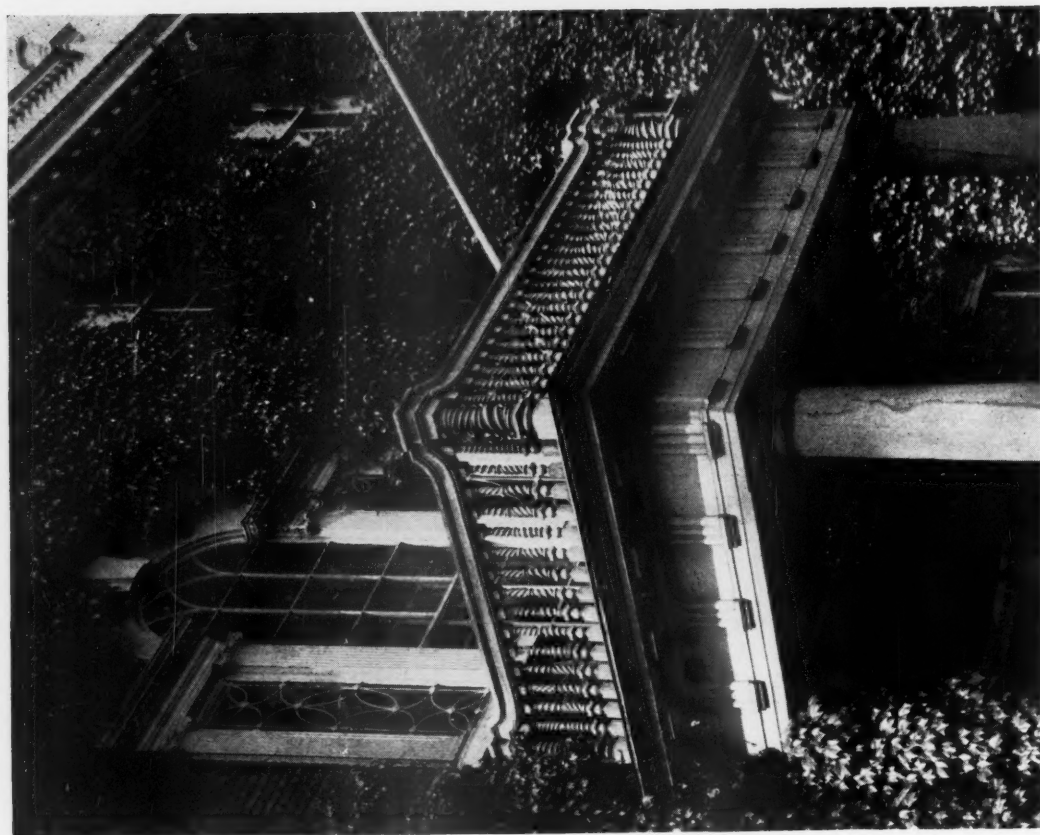


Fig. 2 JOHN BROWN HOUSE, 1786, Providence, R. I.  
*Courtesy Mrs. John Nicholas Brown*

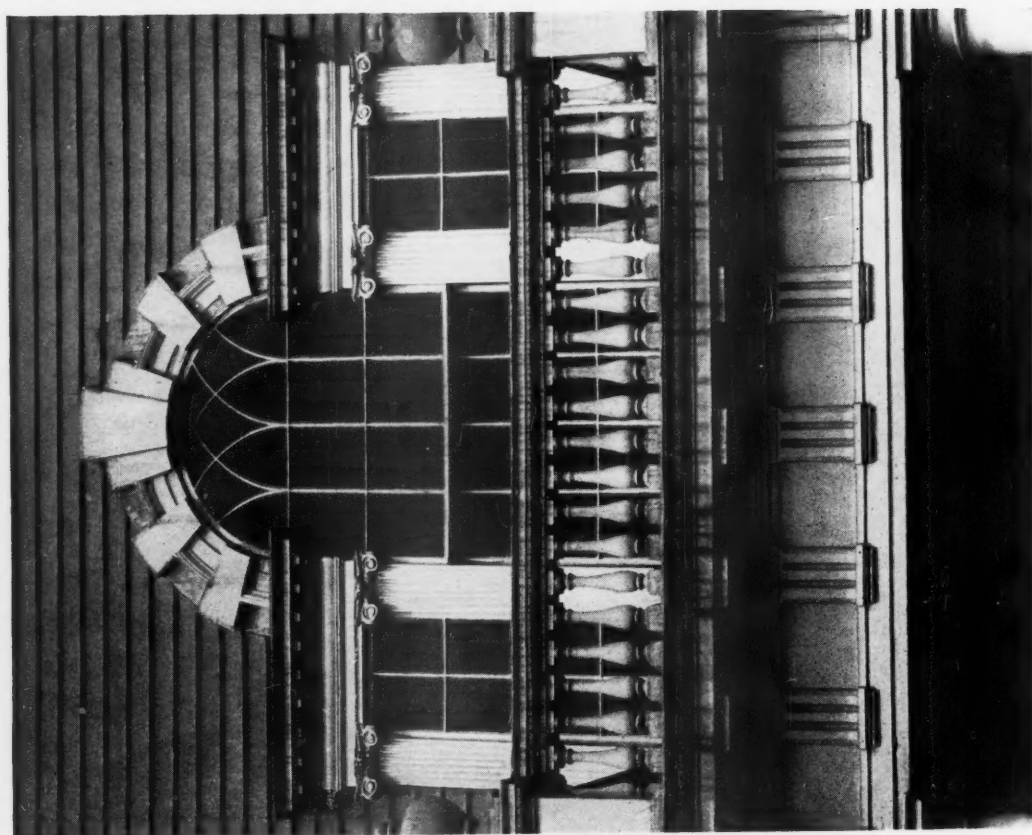


Fig. 3 JOSEPH NIGHTINGALE HOUSE, 1792, Providence, R. I.  
*Courtesy Mrs. John Nicholas Brown*



Fig. 4 DAVIS HOUSE, 1707, Brighton, Mass.  
*Courtesy the Essex Institute, Salem*

from water table to string and from there to cornice. Vertically, the key blocks of the window heads rest against the soffit of the string course stone where the two directions of trim are reconciled. Thus is pulled together a stone convention elsewhere and in its origins intended for more monumental buildings. Otherwise, the Connecticut brownstone rock would have looked as barbaric as did the Virginia stone of Cleve Manor, a Rappahannock Valley mansion of the early Palladian kind, pictured in John Mead Howells' *Lost Examples*. The Hancock house mass and detail, insofar as exterior is concerned, are quasi-classic.

Earlier in the eighteenth century, before the popular rise of this most physically assertive of colonial styles, housewrights had brought wood forward in a modest advance from the medieval cluster of informal blocks to centered simplicity such as we get in the Davis house at Brighton, Massachusetts (Fig. 4). Now it has always been obvious that want of money or too much figures heavily in the local pace of housing styles. During the eighteenth century some folk stick to less ambitious forms because they can't help themselves. Others do so because of personal

preference, habit, reliance on the past performance of their kin. Some colonists build with what is pride in a homespun vernacular, a colloquial rendering of a larger truth (Fig. 5). They use it with nonchalance, with *laissez faire* relaxation. At the same time, there is a persistent parroting of English urban modes. Colonists who could afford to do so were overly apprehensive of shoddy. And everyone who could, asked for the latest word, rejecting the calls of the older speech. Successful people were busied with prestige. And this preoccupation might have sunk to a frenzied dissipation of taste pursuing the interests of fashion, misunderstood and misapplied. Fortunately, this happened rarely. For the colonists were able to change the fresh London idioms into a prettier, equally natural vernacular so that it amounted to a union of the commonplace with permanence.

In the colonies and Young Republic, people build with easy disregard of the canons of classical construction. When this happens (and because it is innocent of guile) the result more often than not is a picturesque rather than shocking *gaucherie*. Only the pedant would quarrel with such



Fig. 5 ROWLAND ROBINSON HOUSE, 1710 and 1755, Saunderstown, R. I.  
Courtesy the Essex Institute, Salem

indifference to perfection. Solecisms are sometimes visually not unpleasant and may even be a comfort to us, as witnessing the frailty of man prone to error even at his best. Because of the kindness of Mrs. John Nicholas Brown, present occupant of the Joseph Nightingale house in Providence, we can show a late example of classical misreading as it occurs on the interior framing of a second story Palladian window in that house (Fig. 6). Here the builder and, for all we know, under the eye of Caleb Ormsbee, let his cornice moulding strip kill the all-important curve of the window arch. What a response Isaac Ware would have made to this!

In the 1756 first edition of his *Complete Body of Architecture*, Ware leads the young architectural student for whom he writes through the secrets of window design. He shows him the science of the simplest and cheapest as well as the lore of the richest and most expensive. These preliminaries once out of the way, he goes on to a consideration of the Venetian or Palladian window, "a kind calculated for shew, and very pompous in their nature; and, when executed with judgment, of extreme elegance."<sup>7</sup> The Nightingale window shows flaws in 1792, more than a generation after other homes could boast of impeccable Palladian windows of the kind set into Mount Pleasant in 1761. And then there are the glazed beauties which Pickford saw in the 1770 Woodlands. Such windows come up to Ware's specifications and ideas of classical beauty.

What we're getting at is this: "errors" of interpretation are *constants* throughout the evolution of the eighteenth-century styles. What needs to be remembered is the greater triumph of which they form a diverting part. The domestic vernaculars show truth made human by the fallible. Where, for instance, does the Ionic capital exist untainted by careless carving or improper scale? Taken as a whole, the unfolding findings of technique are a common pursuit of sense. That rationalism and the intellectual love for which this century is famous weren't dismal, studio abstracts. They look more like measured sympathies.

And so to the place which the Hancock house is to hold in relation to past and future. During the earlier years of the century, the colonies fashion what we shall call for the uses of this paper a Queen Anne style (Fig. 7).<sup>8</sup> In England this style exists before, during, and after Queen Anne's reign (1702-1714). If one may be permitted to say so, this style

<sup>7</sup>Bk. IV, Chap. 22, 467-468.

<sup>8</sup>Justification for this "Queen Anne" title is in part to be found in the examples of English work appearing in the most comprehensive pictorial study yet made of English domestic architecture, Nathaniel Lloyd's *A History of the English House*, (London and New York, 1931), where the following plates picture the style: 161, 188, 191, 194, 196, 198, 211, 212, 215, 216.





Fig. 6 JOSEPH NIGHTINGALE HOUSE, 1792, Providence, R. I.  
*Courtesy Mrs. John Nicholas Brown*

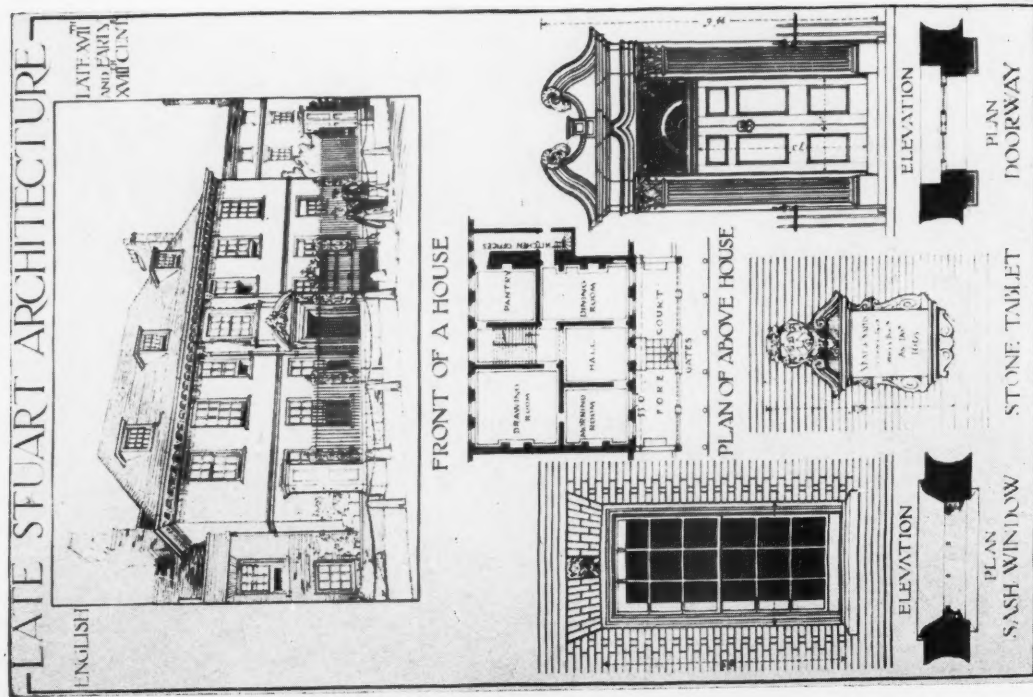


Fig. 7 LATE STUART ARCHITECTURE, end of 17th and  
 early 18th centuries



is a sanctification of brick. For colonial examples of Queen Anne we take the following houses and parts of houses: the exterior of the main building at Westover-on-the-James (Fig. 8); Stenton, the Germantown home of John Logan (Fig. 9); the MacPhaedis-Warner house in Portsmouth (Fig. 10); the Hazard house in Boston and its neighbor, the Jackson house, both demolished in 1926; and the much later (1762) but superbly typical blood-brother of the rest, the Richard Derby house in Salem. It is a meaningful distinction of these homes that they are all laid up in brick; the hallmark of Queen Anne.

As to their externals, these six houses must offer for the cultivated taste an everlasting appeal. For some tastes, the Queen Anne style is the most perfect reconciliation effected in the colonies between domestic feeling and the rules of a free classic expression. Not one of these homes has the material assertiveness and decorative salients of the Hancock house. They belong in a class apart from medievalism and Palladianism. A representative Palladian house like 1761 Mount Pleasant "weighs" more, visually speaking, than all of them put together. And all this is due to what services the materials of construction must perform to be made over into style. Curiously enough, and most certainly on a more rarified plane of thought and feeling, we find towards the end of the century a domestic style not unlike Queen Anne in the modesty of its demeanor (Fig. 11). At the start of the eighteenth century houses lack the Palladianisms of the Hancock house. At the end of the century they are missing too. The Hancock conventions belong mainly to the middle years.

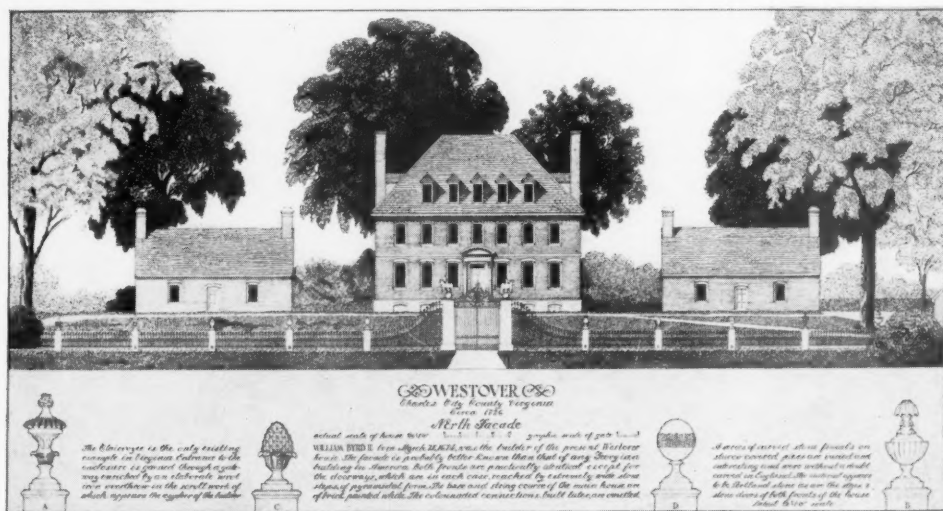


Fig. 8 WESTOVER, 1688-1749, James River, Va.



Fig. 9 STENTON, 1728, Germantown, Pa.  
*Courtesy the Essex Institute, Salem*

We learn from the pages of Isaac Ware that variants of the Queen Anne style were the common run of eighteenth-century London house, with the style shown on the Hancock house coming from a more pretentious source of inspiration. In his discussion of the common houses of London, Ware says that they are all built in one way, so that the student of architecture needs little instruction and less illustration as to how to make them.<sup>9</sup> In the London practice the builder of a common house put two rooms and a small closet on each floor. If there was open space back of the house, a paved yard was put there. Ware objects to householders attempting to make flower gardens of these little yards. He knows that plants require a purer air than animals "and however we breathe in *London*, they cannot live where there is so much smook and confinement."

To solve the problem of the small house yard Ware suggests that we lay the area over with a sound stone pavement. In a corner furthest removed from the house one has to build the *necessary* and, because of the demands of symmetry, build something "of similar shape and little service

<sup>9</sup>*A Complete Body of Architecture*, (1756 ed.), Sect. II, Bk. III, Chap. I, 345.

opposite to it." Between the privy and the balancing fake it was the London habit to fit an alcove with a seat. Shades of the Wythe house in Williamsburg and the Pingree in Salem! Ware shares the belief of many Londoners and colonists when he concludes that this is a strange place indeed to fit in a pleasure retreat and so "all this therefore is better omitted." What lessons is the student of architecture to learn from this vexing problem of the small yard? Ware takes from it a general caution to be remembered in many phases of building. He warns "that when there cannot be any proper ornament, nothing is so becoming as perfect plainness." And the values of perfect plainness the colonial Queen Anne style seems to prove.

In these common London houses the lower story is sunk entirely underground, unboarded as to wall, "damp, unwholesome, and uncomfortable." But it has its excuse. Ground-rent is so dear in the city that builders have to make every effort to utilize every bit of space. This basement story has a front room which is "naturally the kitchen." The ground floor in com-

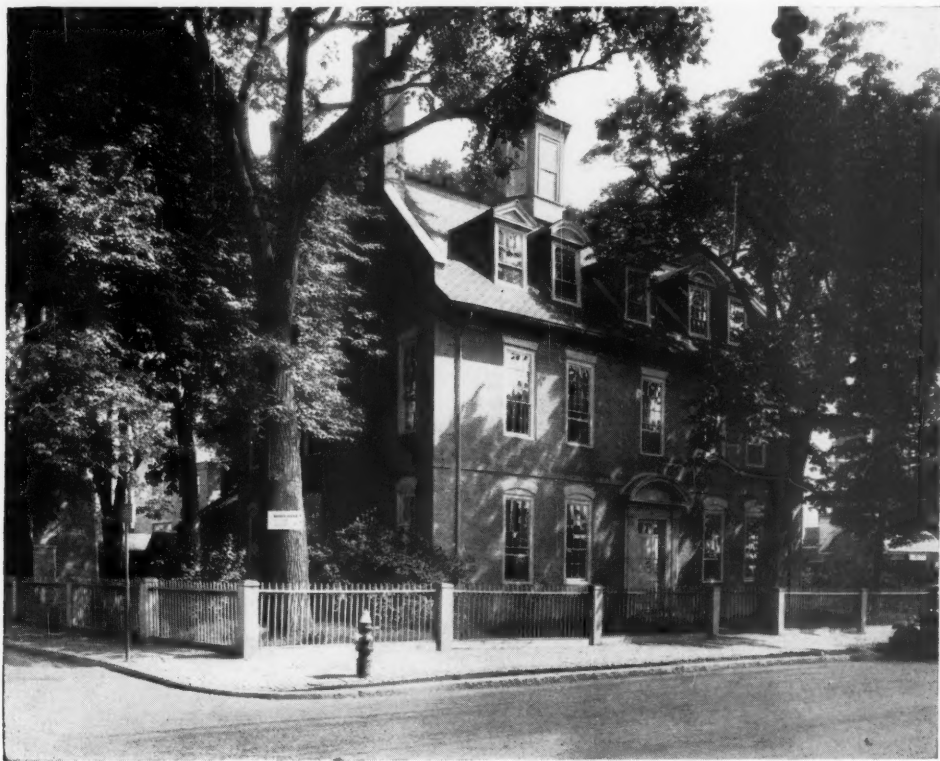


Fig. 10 MACPHAEDRIS-WARNER HOUSE, 1718-23, Portsmouth, N. H.  
*Courtesy Mr. John Mead Howells*



Fig. 11 GOVERNOR GORE HOUSE, 1799, Waltham, Mass.  
*Courtesy the Essex Institute, Salem*

mon houses has a front parlor as its best room with an entrance hall alongside cutting off a great deal from this room and the back parlor. The entrance hall runs through the depth of the house to open on the so-called garden or yard. Ware knows that, given the conditions of the city, it is wisdom to make the back parlor the better of the two main floor rooms. The front room can be made into a hall. Or it can be kept as a lesser parlor. In this arrangement, passage to the garden-yard is provided from the basement story. When this plan is used, the rear parlor gets a welcome largeness as well as another window now that the flanking hall is gone.

All this should remind us, among other things, of colonial division of floors of the kind used in the 1768 Powel house in Philadelphia. This is not the place for an extended treatment of the question but I must take this opportunity to point out to students of the derivations of our colonial house plans that what we get in the Dutch homes of early New York and Albany and in English colonial cities too is floor plans which are not so much local or national expressions of taste as solutions to the physical problem of urban housing on a narrow frontage, often painfully narrow and frequently very deep.

The second floor of this common house in London has a dining room over the front parlor-hall. Over the back parlor there is a bed chamber and a closet to match the one below. These second floor closets were usually corners added to the building and continued to the third floor but not up to the attic. We learn from Ware that in houses a bit better than the



common run, the back room on the second floor ought to be a drawing room or dressing room for the mistress of the house. For, given again the conditions of the city, "it is better not to have any bed on this floor."

The third floor rooms are bedrooms and, because the closet is carried to this level, there may be a third bed there. Over all this are the garrets. These may be divided into a larger number of sleeping units than obtains below because here will be "the reception of beds for servants." Ware warns the young builder that "with all the care that can be taken in this article, often the number of servants cannot be lodged there; and in this case a bed for one man, or two maid-servants is contrived to let down in the kitchen" earlier mentioned as being in the basement. When servants are to be accommodated in the cellar, Ware is human enough to plead that "the necessary care of those peoples healths requires it should be boarded."

Such a house exemplifies the common construction when the London architect has to provide for a family of two or three people with three or four servants. In Ware's time (active from 1728), this was the "most trivial and most familiar manner of building; but it is the most universal." He has given so much time to it because so much may be learned from construction of the common house. He declares that from no other part of the science will the builder derive so much benefit "or by attending to which he will so much recommend himself in the eye of the middle rank of people." It cost from six to seven hundred pounds to build such a house. And it could be more expensive, "according to a little more extent of ground, and a little more than usual ornament." London variants of the Queen Anne red and grey brick style owed their popularity to economic and esthetic reasons.

In these common London homes it was often the habit to shift the entrance door to one side for the sake of better divisions in the plan but Ware himself can find nothing to justify this one-sidedness even in the lowliest of middle-class homes. As for large and elegant edifices, it is a practice that admits no apology for in these the focused-center entry is a fundamental prerequisite of greatness. Ware is not unmindful of the greater practicality of the off-center entry. But he comes right out to say that "it may be laid down as an unanswerable rule, that the entrance, or principal door, of a house ought always to be in the centre." In England and the colonies the convention of the centered door belongs to medieval and Renaissance practice alike. What changes is the complement to the door and this is all-important. When Ware cautions the young builder

against putting his entrances to the side he insists that such indiscretion goes against the grain of "*reason, utility, beauty, and proportion.*" Let this be remembered when certain pejorative critics of colonial architectural practice try to give us the impression that the reason back of colonial appearances were superficial and might just as well have been something else. Reason, utility, beauty, proportion: out of the accommodation of these necessities come the phases of colonial craftsmanship.

Ware is confident that the rules of proportion should be inviolate. For him "A great house should have all its parts great" and this is impossible to Ware's way of seeing when the door is placed to the side. A house deserves to have a unique, a principal entrance, most emphatically one. For Ware a centered door is the most natural door: "Lacking this, a house presents the viewer with a great blank where he expects most to be edified." With a doorway to the side, a house will have "a poor confined inhospitable look."

Tied to this exalted idea of the star role which the entrance is to play in the domestic-classic drama, are Ware's notions of appropriate placement and articulation of entrance halls and stairways. His motivations are honest and reasonable. They make "sense." And they make sense of the honorable part given to these functional instruments of the house in our colonial practice. The hall and stairs of the Hancock house would have impressed Ware as an earnest attempt, provincial but laudable, to follow his example. Let us listen to Ware state the case for entrance halls and stairs of which the colonies offer so many attractive variations:

"There is often an air of space and room in throwing back a stair-case; and this may be done to such advantage in a moderate house, as to make it seem much larger than it is, by a great part of it being seen first: but still the staircase must present itself boldly and freely to the sight; otherwise all has a confused and poor aspect. It looks as if the house has no good upper floor: and there is the same disadvantage in this hiding of it, as there is in misplacing the door of a house; it is as bad not to know how to find the way to the apartments, as not to find it into the house."

A copy of Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* was in Thomas Jefferson's library. The stairs in his house which have given rise to the gross libel that they were a frantic afterthought were made deliberately for their hidden place so that Jefferson's entrance hall could be a splendid, unimpeded clarification of space consistent with the Adam manner or a much attenuated Palladianism. During the mid-years of the century, stairs were generally arranged more nearly in conformance with Ware's demand for their glorification. No one who has stood in "The Lindens" now the home of Mr. and Mrs. George Maurice Morris in Washington, D. C. will ever

forget the thrill of recognition its entrance hall engenders. During the earlier years of the century entrance halls and stairs were not so consistently impressive.

Now we turn to Isaac Ware to get his idea of the rural as against urban common house.<sup>10</sup> We find that when nothing more is wanted than a habitation scaled to a single family, "the common house in the country is built just as the common house in *London* for the most part, though here there is room for great improvement at a small expence, because of the quantity of ground." We learn that in England then, as in the United States now and in the colonial time, folk who lived in the country liked to meddle in agricultural pursuits "and they are to be considered as a sort of farmers." For the construction of their houses, therefore, when we plan for more than what is necessary to eat and sleep in, "something of the construction of a farm-house and its offices is to be introduced into the plan of the building."

We and our architects currently make much to-do about the question of building homes without basements. And Frank Lloyd Wright is leading us to believe that the cellarless house begins and ends with him. In this as in other matters dearer to the heart he and we are anticipated by the eighteenth century's common sense. When only a main building is wanted in the country, without the farm accessories for man and beast, Ware allows that the small family shelter "may be built without any underground work at all":

"Upon the level of the ground, if it be a dry wholesome soil, may be an entrance from the principal door; and on each side of it a parlour. In front may be the staircase; and over these, lodging-rooms. Behind may be placed a kitchen and wash-house, which need be no more than sheds well covered; and, as most who devote themselves to a country life take the amusements of reading and riding, beyond the right hand parlour may be a study, covered as the kitchen, and beyond the left a stable. The passage into the study being from the parlour, and the opening into the stable by a door outwards.

This will be a house of some convenience, and of small expence."

I cannot resist the temptation to call the reader's attention to the fact that the current darling of our house architects is the *shed roof*. For Ware's "simple" cellarless farmhouse shed roofs were an integral part of the scheme, leaning against the main building. In the colonies, Ware's country house plan is followed but on a reduced, much simplified schedule. Ware's exposition of the urban and rural common house types is basic for a study of city and country domestic in the colonies. We get the notion that in

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, Sect. II, Bk. III, Chap. 2, 348.

the New World rustic and metropolitan types were used freely with country styles in the budding metropolis and city elegance transferred intact to the open turf.

So much time has been given to Ware because there is with us still much uncertainty concerning the social and economic levels from which our domestic styles derive. Perhaps it isn't far wrong to assert that our Queen Anne homes stem from the housing of the lesser and moderate middle-classes in England. The Palladian manner as we have it in the Hancock house comes to us from more lordly planes of wealth and position.





## A ROMAN MOSAIC FROM ZLITEN

By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN

Princeton University

A SQUARE mosaic discovered in a Roman villa at Zliten in Tripolitania, where it was laid in the closing years of the first century after Christ, has a border which contains scenes of singular interest. These represent gladiatorial combats, hunting groups and the execution of captives who are attacked by wild animals. The scenes were inspired by actual occurrences in the arena.<sup>1</sup> Two details of this border invite special attention. Both represent the *damnatio ad bestias* (illustrations). In the first scene two nude men stand upon small two-wheeled cars the shape of which is clearly suggestive of chariots but the men instead of attacking wild animals are attacked by them. This scene is thus linked in idea with the real hunting scene which takes place on the immediate right. The men are bound to an upright rod which is strengthened by two supports attached to the pole by which the "chariot" was pushed forward. Two successive moments of the *damnatio* are shown. In the first a panther, rearing up, is about to jump upon its victim and sink claws and teeth into his chest and abdomen as the trainer of the beast pushes the car forward. The second trainer behind the first holds a *mappa* or cloth in one hand and a whip in the other. The *mappa* was used to incite the beast. In the second of the two moments depicted the panther has already leaped upon its victim and consequently is left to disembowel him without further encouragement from a trainer. The pole of this "chariot" rests on the ground. The conjecture of Aurigemma is that these victims are captives taken by the Romans when they repressed the incursions of the Garamanti in A. D. 70. Their punishment served both to make a holiday in the arena and to warn other native tribes which might become restive.

The corresponding scene at the other end of the frieze shows the trainer brandishing a whip as he pushes another captive, whom he holds by the hair, toward a charging lion. The fact that the trainer has only a whip means that the lion has been trained to obey him. The Mauritians are known to have trained young lions.<sup>2</sup> Quite apart from the value of this

<sup>1</sup>The mosaic which is now in the museum of Tripoli is finely illustrated and discussed by Salvatore Aurigemma in *Dedalo* 1923-24, pp. 333ff and 397ff and again by the same author in *I Mosaici di Zliten*, pp. 178ff. Each publication has a plate in color.

<sup>2</sup>The references to such training are assembled by Steier in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. Löwe, cols. 980-81. For an Etruscan punishment of corresponding character in a place of contests see Swindler, *Ancient Painting* fig. 393. In this the hooded victim is attacked by a dog which is incited by a man wearing a mask. The painting is of the late sixth century B. C.

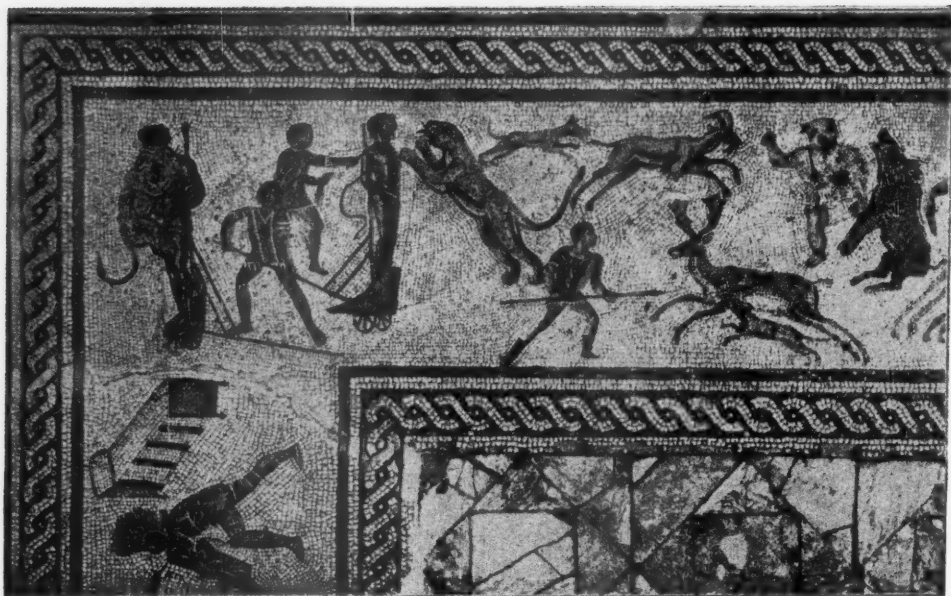


Fig. 1 DETAIL OF ROMAN MOSAIC FROM ZLITEN



Fig. 2 DETAIL OF ROMAN MOSAIC FROM ZLITEN

scene as an illustration of the events of the Roman arena it furnishes a clarifying commentary upon a passage in Tertullian of Carthage, the Christian writer of the third century. In his *De Spectaculis* he says: "Taceo de illo qui hominem leoni prae se opponit ne parum sit homicida qui eundem postmodum jugulat. Glover in his edition of the work<sup>3</sup> translates as follows: "I say nothing of him who pushes another in front of himself to a lion in case he is not quite murderer enough when he cuts his throat afterwards." In his commentary Glover restates the old explanation of the passage "for what it is worth": "While gladiators are ready to fight, a lion is let loose upon them. One pushes the other in the lion's way to save himself; this second man kills the lion and is afterwards killed by the first who, if he kills him only once in fact, did it twice in intention." Tertullian however is not referring to gladiators at all. He does not use the word *gladiator* nor any of the several words designating varieties of gladiator. Instead he employs the very general word *homo*. In the passage immediately preceding the quoted sentence he denounces the theatre, the actor and the pugilist nor does he in what follows this sentence assail the gladiator. So far as the context is concerned he may be alluding to brutality of quite a different sort, namely that depicted in the scenes of the mosaic which have been cited above. With these in mind the meaning of Tertullian becomes clearer in the following revised translation: "I am silent as to him who pushes a man forward to a lion lest the one who afterwards cut's the man's throat be less a murderer." Tertullian uses the effective rhetorical device of mentioning a murderer by saying that he will keep silent about him. Two men were involved apart from the victim. One of these pushed the latter toward the lion as in the mosaic; the second put an end to his sufferings by cutting his throat. In another scene of this same mosaic from Zliten a gladiator who has struck down an opponent is about to drive a dagger into his throat.<sup>4</sup> In the Spanish bull-ring today the horse which has been disembowelled by a bull is put out of its misery with a dagger.

<sup>3</sup>Loeb series, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup>Aurigemma, *I Mosaici di Zliten* p. 150, fig.

## ROBERT FEKE

AS REVEALED IN THE RECENT EXHIBITION OF PORTRAITS

By HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Cambridge, Massachusetts

THE recent exhibition<sup>1</sup> of a well-selected group of portraits by Robert Feke<sup>2</sup> has, for the first time, nearly two hundred years after his death, given the public an opportunity to see any adequate representation of the work of this little-known colonial painter. Since most of his portraits are still in private hands not many persons have hitherto seen more than the very few which have found their way into public collections, the best known ones being the group of his pictures in the Walker Art Gallery at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. None of the Bowdoin pictures were obtainable, and two or three others of especial interest were lacking. But there was compensation for their absence in the thirty other less-well-known portraits which were assembled, nearly half of the whole number by him known to exist, well chosen to illustrate his development as an artist. One can only congratulate the museum authorities upon the excellence of the selection made, and the catalogue was a model of its kind.

Although Feke was undoubtedly the best American-born painter who worked in the colonies before Copley, and who produced portraits which the Scottish Smibert and the English Blackburn might rival but did not surpass, he was so nearly forgotten that Dunlap knew nothing of him, and only mentioned him in a three-line notice in his *History of the Arts of Design in America* (1834) because he had been informed of the existence of a portrait of Mrs. Charles Willing signed with Feke's name.

The obscurity into which Feke quickly passed was due to several factors. In the first place he was soon eclipsed by the rising fame of Copley. Then there was the general neglect of the earlier colonial artists and craftsmen of all sorts which prevailed after the Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century. Smibert and Copley were the only pre-revolutionary painters whose names were well remembered, and to one or the other of them almost any old portrait was attributed, with small regard to probabilities. Finally, Feke, like most of the itinerant limners of the first half of the eighteenth century, moved from place to place as opportunities for

<sup>1</sup>Whitney Museum of Modern Art, New York, Oct. 8-30; Heckscher Art Gallery, Huntington, L. I., Nov. 2-10; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Nov. 27-Dec. 22, 1946.

<sup>2</sup>The family name appears in many variant spellings, but this is the form which the painter used on most of his signed portraits.



work offered, and left behind him no traces other than his pictures. He appears to have been a silent and uncommunicative person, and, if he wrote letters, none have survived. Not a scrap of his handwriting is known, not even his signature save as it is painted on a few of his portraits. All these factors contributed to obliterate his memory, and, combined with the scantiness of contemporary references to him, make it impossible to sketch his career in more than the barest outlines.

We do know his line of descent, not from Dutch origins, as has been sometimes stated, but from an English family of some standing, through his great-grandfather Robert, who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630 and married the widow of young Henry Winthrop. Family tradition gives the year of the painter's birth as 1705 and the place as Oyster Bay, Long Island, where his father, also Robert, was a Baptist preacher and lived in a house called Meadowside. The Town Records of Oyster Bay record a survey of the town, dated December 12, 1730, made by "Robart Feke, Jur" and another man. There is the record of his marriage on Sept. 23, 1742, to Eleanor Cozzens, a Quakeress of Newport, in which he also is described as "of Newport," indicating that he had been resident there for

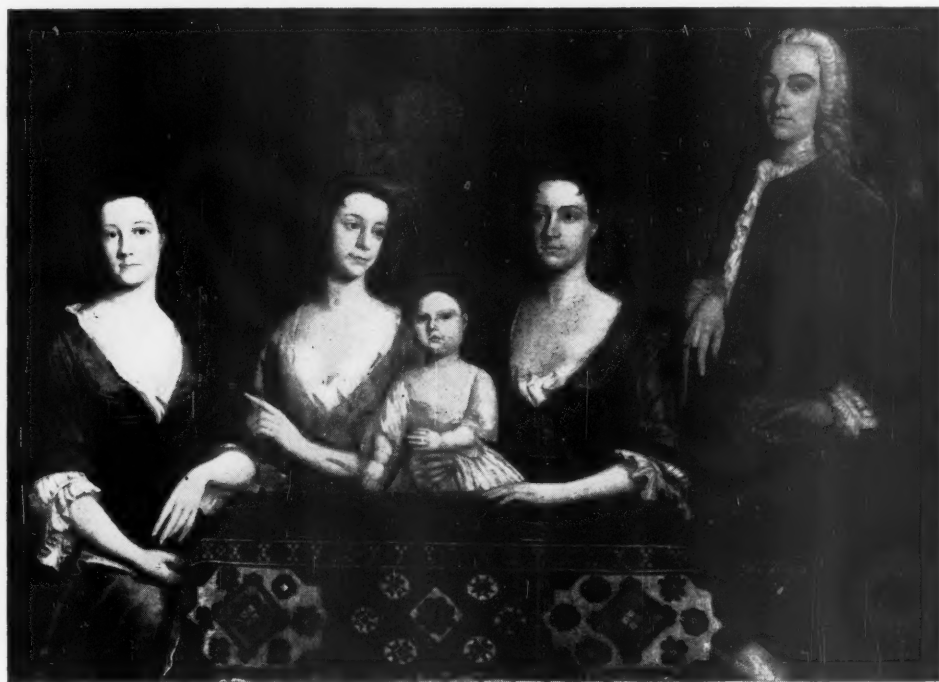


Fig. 1 ROBERT FEKE: Isaac Royall and Family  
*Harvard University*

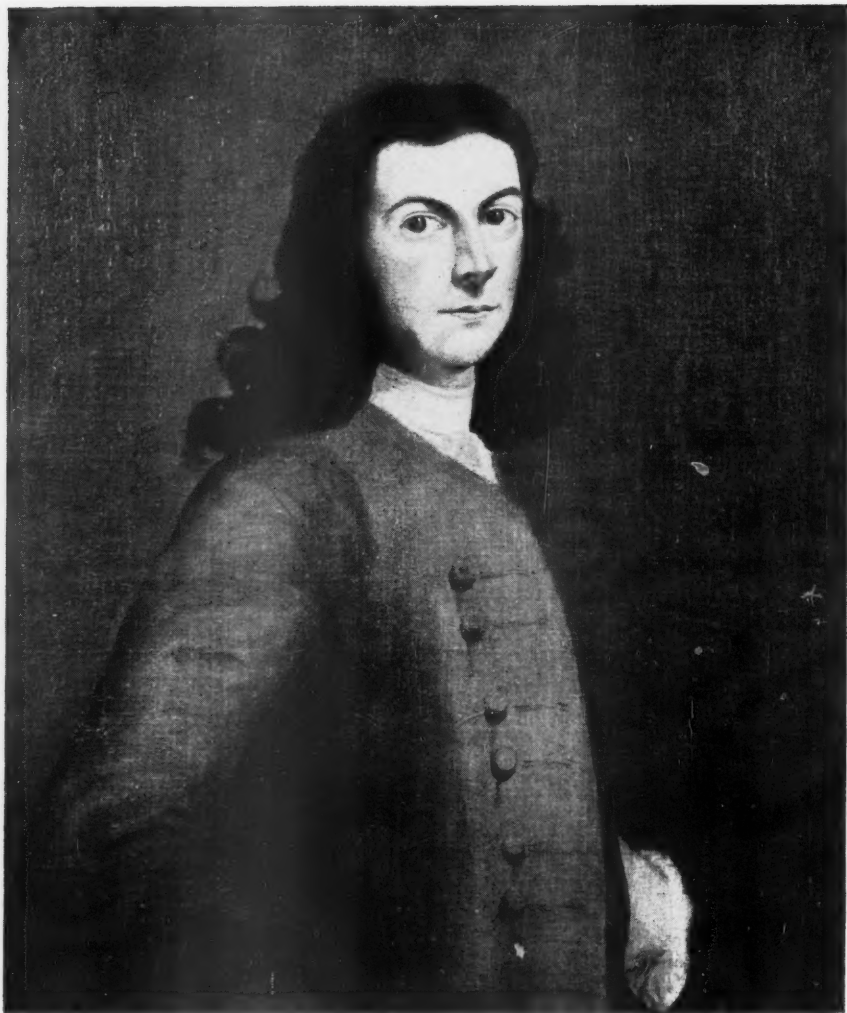


Fig. 2 ROBERT FEKE: Self-Portrait  
*Henry Wilder Foote Collection*

some time previous. The ceremony was performed by Rev. John Callender, a noted Baptist minister whose portrait Feke painted in 1745. After his marriage he lived and no doubt painted in the roomy, substantial house on Touro Street which had been built by his wife's father, who was a man of some means. It was not torn down until 1920. Between 1743 and 1750 his wife bore him three sons and two daughters, and when his daughters were married in 1767 he is described on their certificates as "Robert Feke, Mariner, deceased."

Aside from these scanty records the only contemporary references to Robert Feke so far discovered are those by Dr. Alexander Hamilton in

1744, and by John Smith of Philadelphia in 1750. Dr. Hamilton was a Scottish traveller who visited the colonies from Maryland to New Hampshire and wrote an account of his journey which was published in 1907. He reached Newport on July 16, 1744, where he was met by Dr. Thomas Moffatt, a nephew of John Smibert. He says, "I dined at a tavern kept by one Nicolls at the sign of The White Horse, where I had put up my horses, and in the afternoon Dr. Moffatt, an old acquaintance and school-fellow of mine, led me a course through the town. He carried me to one Feake, a painter, the most extraordinary genius ever I knew, for he does pictures tolerably well by the force of genius, having never had any teaching. I saw a large table of the Judgment of Hercules, copied by him from a frontispiece of the Earl of Shaftesbury's, which I thought very well done. This man had exactly the phiz of a painter, having a long pale face, sharp nose, large eyes — with which he looked at you steadfastly — long curled black hair, a delicate white hand, and long fingers."

This entry is invaluable. It gives us our only pen picture of Feke and its description of him exactly fits the individual portrayed in Feke's two self-portraits. It also indicates that Moffatt regarded him as a person of sufficient interest to be worth introducing to a European visitor, and that Feke gave the impression of being "an extraordinary genius." The statement that he had "never had any teaching" must have come directly or indirectly from Feke himself. The "Judgment of Hercules" which Feke had painted on a large canvas was copied from an engraved vignette in Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks*, edition of 1714, at the head of an essay on art. Obviously Feke possessed, and presumably had read the book.

John Smith's notice of Feke in his diary is much less significant. He merely notes that on April 7, 1750, he and his brother-in-law, William Logan, "went to Fewke's the painter's and viewed several pieces and faces of his painting." This entry does not even indicate whether Feke was present, but since his little exhibition presumably included the Philadelphia "faces" which he had painted that winter and spring, as well as the other "pieces," which may have been paintings like the Judgment of Hercules, it may be assumed that he was on hand.

After this visit to Philadelphia in the spring of 1750 Feke completely disappears, and there is no reliable record of when, how or where he died. We may surmise that he returned to Newport, because his youngest child was born there in that same April, and that he there started the late Self-portrait and the portrait of his wife, both of which he left unfinished. No account of him appeared in print until, more than 100 years later, some



Fig. 3 ROBERT FEKE: Rev. Thomas Hiscox  
*Countess László Széchényi Collection*



Fig. 4 ROBERT FEKE: Mrs. Charles Apthorp  
*Mrs. Ben P. P. Mosley Collection*



correspondents in Dawson's *Historical Magazine* for 1859-60 reported a medley of family traditions about him, some of which are confused and clearly erroneous. It is there stated that "his health declining, he sought the milder climate of Bermuda, where he died at about the age of 44." But the late unfinished Self-portrait, just referred to, which is assuredly one of his latest paintings, shows a middle-aged man apparently in good health, and the burial records of Bermuda have been searched in vain for any record of his death. Furthermore no portraits by him are known there. Another suggestion is that he went to Barbados, where another branch of the Feke family was in residence and where the rich planters might offer employment. The burial records of Barbados report the burial on November 13, 1752, of a *Richard Feak*, who is not further identified, and it is conceivable that the clerk carelessly wrote *Richard* for *Robert*. Barring this possibility, there is no evidence that Feke went to Barbados, and we are left without any clue as to what happened to him.

The family traditions mentioned above contain other confused items which call for interpretation. It is said that he "embraced the principles of the Baptists, which was very offensive to his father, who went so far in his resentment as to follow him to the water, and there to forbid him to enter it on pain of disinheritance. He then left the house of his youth, and was several years absent on voyages abroad, in one of which he was taken prisoner and carried into Spain, where in the solitude of his prison he succeeded in procuring paints and brushes, and employed himself in rude paintings which, on his release, he sold, and thus availed himself of the means of returning to his own country."

Upon the first part of this story Professor Oskar Hagen in *The Birth of the American Tradition of Art* has built up a romantic thesis that Robert Feke was driven from home not merely because he became a Baptist against his father's wishes, but also because his father disapproved of "his going in for art." Professor Hagen has failed to notice that the family tradition has combined in one story and attributed to the painter separate incidents occurring in two generations. It was not the painter, but his father, Robert the Baptist preacher, who was disinherited by Old John Feke for leaving the Quaker meeting to adopt the Baptist faith. The painter's father as a matter of course brought up his son as a Baptist, to which denomination the latter always adhered. That his father did not disapprove of the son's interest in art would seem amply proved by another family tradition that the house at Meadowside contained a number

of family portraits from his brush which were lost when it was burned down in 1768, before the old man's death.

The tradition that the painter went on "voyages abroad" is wholly plausible. Seafaring was an occupation to which young men in seaboard towns then took naturally, especially if they were ambitious to see the world. And the painter's long absence from this country is the only reasonable explanation of the entire lack of any portraits by him attributable to the years between about 1732 and about 1740. Nevertheless the description of him as "Mariner," on his daughters' marriage certificates long after his death seems curious: one would rather have expected him to be described as "limner."

Professor Hagen has fabricated an ingenious theory to clarify the obscurities of this period of the artist's life. He suggests that Feke did not go abroad as a sailor but on an educational tour on the Continent, especially to study art in Italy, the goal of all aspiring young artists, and points out that in the warfare going on in southern Italy in 1733 an incautious traveller might easily have been picked up and carried off as a prisoner into Spain, even if he was a British subject whose country was not involved. Professor Hagen goes on to explain the application of the word "Mariner" to the painter by the supposition that Feke became so embarrassed financially by the burden of his growing family that in 1750 he abandoned portrait painting to go into the lucrative triangular trade from Newport to Africa for Negroes, from Africa to Barbados to exchange the Negroes for molasses, and back to Newport where the molasses was turned into rum to take to Africa for more Negroes. He assumes that, without previous nautical experience, Feke "became a skipper when he got into financial straits," and therefore was recorded as a "Mariner" after his death.

This thesis raises more questions than it answers. Granted an unrecorded but not unreasonable desire on Feke's part to visit Italy, and that his capture by Spaniards might easily have occurred while he was there, it assumes that the young man had the means to pay for a European tour, which is improbable, and fails to note the tradition that he took more than one voyage abroad. If he went voyaging several times it is almost certain that he went as a paid hand, though perhaps with the intention of thus eventually reaching Italy. Furthermore, without a considerable amount of seagoing earlier in life, a man of 45 could not possibly have "become a skipper," that is the captain of a ship engaged in either coastwise or foreign trade. The idea that Feke, as a landlubber whose experience of the sea was limited to that of a passenger on one round trip to Europe and

return, could step, a dozen or so years later, from his studio to the command of anything larger than a rowboat, is pure fantasy. At his age, unless he had had several years of practical experience on shipboard, no shipowner would have given him any position on a ship other than that of supercargo.

Again, though it is quite true that portrait painting offered so precarious a livelihood that colonial limners generally found it necessary to add to their income in other ways, there is no definite proof that Feke was in such a situation. Indeed, the two or more years immediately preceding April, 1750, included his most productive visits to Boston and Philadelphia, besides portraits painted at Newport. At no other period did he have so many commissions. Finally, his wife's family were people of means; she owned the house in which they lived; and she continued to live there with her five children after Feke's disappearance, until her death in 1804, more than half a century later, at the age of 84. While it is quite probable that Feke's earnings as a painter, even under the most favorable circumstances, were inadequate to support his growing family, it is clear that his wife had enough to get along without them. I suggest that the puzzling word "Mariner" is to be explained by his having been lost at sea on a voyage in 1750 or soon after, the clerk who made out the marriage certificates assuming that he therefore must have been a mariner; or, more probably, by the greater prestige attributed to a seafaring man than to a limner. Copley, it will be remembered, in the seventeen-sixties complained that in Boston a painter was regarded as only a sort of tradesman or mechanic. It is possible that Feke's daughters, too young to remember their father, may have held similar views and have preferred to have him recorded as a mariner because of his early sea-going days, rather than as a mere limner. Certainly no one in Newport at that period would have dreamed that 200 years later Feke's career would assume greater interest and significance than those of the prosperous ship-owners and adventurous sea-captains who were his contemporaries.

Turning from these scanty records and hazardous conjectures to the portraits which he painted in the decade between 1740 and 1750 we can trace his activities with somewhat more assurance. Only two earlier pictures are assuredly his, the Early Self-Portrait, which, on account of his youthful appearance, I have dated as early as 1725 but which there are some plausible grounds for dating considerably later, and that of his little niece Phiany Cock (1732?), both painted in the flat style typical of colonial limners. But about 1739 or 1740 he was in Philadelphia, painting

his earliest portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Tench Francis, and that of Mrs. George McCall, and in the summer of 1741 he was in Medford, just outside Boston, painting his largest and most ambitious, though not most successful picture, the group portrait of young Isaac Royall and Family, with a painted inscription on the back (now covered by relining) naming the subjects and ending "Finisht Sept. 15th, 1741 by Robert Feke."

These portraits, though they fall far short of his later work, show a great advance over his earliest ones. Furthermore, they establish a strong presumption that in one way or another he had had some experience of painting in Europe. Isaac Royall was a wealthy young man who had just erected a mansion described by a traveller as "one of the grandest in No. America," and he certainly would not have asked an unknown "mariner" to come from Newport to Boston to paint the picture. Feke must have acquired some reputation as an artist recently returned from Europe to obtain the commission while Smibert was still at the height of his skill and reputation in Boston. Feke undoubtedly saw Smibert's group of Dean Berkeley and his Entourage, which was then in the painter's studio in Boston. As noted above, he was acquainted with Thomas Moffatt of Newport, whose brother John was Smibert's assistant in the latter's art shop in Boston, so that he had excellent reasons for presenting himself to Mr. Smibert. And aside from this connection a comparison of the two portrait groups clearly shows that Feke still lacked sufficient self-assurance not to have been strongly influenced by Smibert's masterpiece. He adopted its general design and practically copied the pose of one of the women depicted. By comparison his picture seems naive, and still somewhat in the earlier limner tradition, though it has much charm.

The next year Feke married, and between then and 1746 painted several portraits in Newport — those of "Pamela Andrews," an imaginary picture of Richardson's heroine in his novel, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, published in 1740, dressed as described in the novel; Mrs. Joseph Wanton; John Gidley, Jr.; Rev. John Callender and Rev. Thomas Hiscox. The two last have the unusual signature "R. Feak" and are dated 1745. An engraving of that of Hiscox, dated 1775, gives the artist as "Mr. Feke." The contrast between these two Baptist ministers is strikingly characterized. Callender is shown as the gentle, lovable, scholarly man he was (though the picture is in too bad condition to reveal its full charm), whereas Hiscox, chin up and eyes flashing, is shown as a vigorous and dominating, not to say domineering, personality. It is a masterly, though not altogether





Fig. 5 ROBERT FEKE: Mrs. Charles Willing  
*Edward Shippen Willing Collection*

attractive, portrait. Either at this time or about 1749 Feke also painted two pairs of portraits of Mr. and Mrs. John Channing of Newport.

In 1746 Feke again visited Philadelphia and painted his second pair of portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Tench Francis and his two pictures of their daughter Ann, Mrs. James Tilghman; his two pictures doubtfully called Anne and Margaret Willing; his portrait of Mrs. Charles Willing, signed "R. Feke, Pinx. 1746"; his lovely portrait of young Sarah Shippen, and, either then or on his third visit (1750), those of her two brothers; as well as other portraits. These portraits show a marked development of skill over those of a few years earlier. The figures stand out from the back-



Fig. 6 ROBERT FEKE: Ralph Inman  
*William Amory Collection*

ground, and are well characterized. That of Mrs. Charles Willing, in particular, is well-rounded and impressive in its handsome gray flowered brocade gown. That of Williamina Moore, signed "R. F. Pinx, 1746," honestly shows a very plain-featured but obviously intelligent young woman in a setting which gives her both distinction and charm. Professor Hagen calls it "the most affable female portrait in all colonial painting, barring none, before 1746." On his way to or from Philadelphia Feke may well have visited Oyster Bay, for the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Martin,

who lived in Rock Hall at Hempstead, not far away, date from this period. Over a mantel piece at Rock Hall is an eighteenth-century American landscape, showing forested mountains with figures of hunters, which one is tempted also to attribute to him, though there is no proof, and, alas, we know nothing about any "pieces" of that sort by him.

No extant portraits by him can with any assurance be attributed to the year 1747, and Professor Hagen, in the chapter already cited, believes that Feke was in London that year. His argument at this point is somewhat more persuasive than are his conjectures about Feke's maritime experiences. He thinks that Feke's portrait of William Bowdoin, painted the next year, so nearly imitates Highmore's "Gentleman in a Murrey Velvet Coat," painted in London in 1747, that Feke must have seen the latter picture in Highmore's studio, and observes that all four of the Bowdoin portraits (young Mr. and Mrs. James Bowdoin, Mr. and Mrs. William Bowdoin), painted the next year, are done in a sophisticated fashion-plate London style not at all characteristic of most of Feke's work, the young people being mere lay figures for elaborately painted costumes. It is true that Feke's portrait of William Bowdoin rather closely resembles the portrait by Highmore in pose and arrangement, but colonial artists commonly studied mezzotints of English portraits for hints in these respects, and the resemblance might be due to no more than their conformity to the accepted patterns of the period.

A more convincing point is to be found in the change from Feke's earlier American manner to a somewhat more sophisticated English style, exhibited not only in the Bowdoin portraits but in most of those he painted in 1748. Whatever the explanation is, it is clear that during this period Feke rapidly developed a style which carried him far beyond any passing influence which Smibert may have had on him and which is marked by growing technical skill and power of characterization. But, whether or not he had opportunity to see at first hand the work of London artists, he remained typically American in the simplicity of his designs and in eschewing the introduction of distracting accessories.

His visit to Boston in 1748 must have been a long one for in the course of it he painted some twenty portraits, and his stay ran into 1749, the portrait of Oxenbridge Thacher attributed to him being signed "R. F. 1748," while that of Mrs. Thacher is signed "R. F. Pinx. 1749." His other portraits, besides the Bowdoin, painted during this visit, include his lovely one of Mrs. Trecothick; those of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Apthorp; Richard Saltonstall; Gershom Flagg IV and his wife;



Fig. 7 ROBERT FEKE: Ebenezer Flagg  
*Countess László Széchenyi Collection*

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Inman; Mr. and Mrs. John Rowe; Stephen Sewall; Isaac Winslow; and General Samuel Waldo. This last "offers an intriguing puzzling." There is indubitable documentary evidence that Smibert painted Waldo in 1747, and there is no record that Feke also painted him. The portrait of Waldo, now at Bowdoin College, has therefore been attributed to Smibert, but it does not at all resemble his work, and it does look like Feke's at his best. Furthermore, the pose of the head and the painting of the hands are so nearly identical with those in Feke's signed and dated (1746) portrait of Tench Francis as to make it incredible that they were



not done by the same painter. Professor Hagen thinks "that the stupendous head with its eloquent black eyes and masterful modelling . . . outdistances anything known of Feke's," and suggests that it was repainted later by Copley. An X-ray of the portrait, however, shows no traces of repainting, and the present writer adheres to the opinion that it is one of Feke's most masterful works. It is the only full-length attributed to him and it is cause for much regret that it was not obtainable for this exhibition.

At the end of his second Boston visit, early in 1749, Feke no doubt returned to Newport, where he certainly was in the summer of that year, during which he may have painted some of the late Newport portraits already referred to, and those of Ebenezer Flagg and wife; of Philip Wilkin-son; of Gershom Flagg III; and of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Stelle. Of these last those of the Flaggs are the best. We do not know when he went to Philadelphia for his third visit, whether late in 1749 or early in 1750 — only that he remained there until April of that year, as already noted. And it is often difficult, in the case of his unsigned and undated Philadelphia portraits, to decide which of them to attribute to 1746 and which to 1750. As stated above, it is assumed that Feke returned to Newport from Philadelphia, but the attribution to him of the portraits of William Nelson and of his wife and his sister Mary Nelson of Yorktown, Virginia, raises the interesting question of whether they came to Philadelphia to be painted, or whether Feke went to Yorktown before his disappearance. The Nelson portraits, judging by the apparent age of the subjects, date from about 1750, but they are unsigned and undated, and have been also attributed to Wollaston, who reached Virginia about 1755. The portraits of the two women, especially, however, seem quite clearly to be from Feke's brush.

In its range from his earliest to his latest portraits the exhibition was admirably planned to show his development from a level hardly more distinctive than that of the better anonymous provincial limners, through the period when in the conversation group of Isaac Royall and Family he was imitating Smibert, to the fine flowering of his talents in the last five years of his activity when some of his portraits so nearly attained Copley's early quality that in the past they were frequently attributed to the latter painter, as, for example, the handsome portrait of Isaac Winslow. He increased rapidly both in power of characterization and in the skill with which he painted handsome fabrics. Many of his men wear beautiful long silk waistcoats, that of Richard Saltonstall trimmed with heavy gold embroidery almost identical with that shown in the portrait of William

Bowdoin. Yet some of his less pretentious pictures, like those of the two Baptist ministers and of Gershom Flagg IV, owe their charm wholly to the life-likeness of the heads represented. Gershom Flagg IV wears a plain dark-blue coat and simple neck-cloth, but the face is vivacious and happy, that of a man who would be a good friend and companion.

The exhibition also revealed his limitations. His earlier figures are sometimes stiffly and awkwardly posed. His women (but not "Pamela Andrews") are often, though not always, lay figures, looking very much alike and lacking individuality. But that was a failing common to all painters in the colonies before Copley. And his variety of pose is very limited, the same posture appearing again and again with but slight variations, and the same details of costume, such as the arrangement of ruffles, are frequently repeated.

It was a great misfortune for American art that Feke's career as a painter came to so early an end — practically limited to the decade 1740-1750 — while he was still developing his undoubted powers. Had he lived another ten or twenty years he might have become a not unworthy rival of Copley, who began where he left off. But this exhibition has effectively established the reputation of this enigmatic and long-neglected artist as one who made the most noteworthy contribution in the first half of the 18th century to the budding art of America which flowered in the two following generations in the work of Copley and of Gilbert Stuart. He played a more significant part in portraying the character of our colonial life than has hitherto been recognized, and all who are interested in the development of the American tradition should be grateful to the museums which have brought his work to public attention.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### INFORMATION WANTED ON THE WORKS OF BLAKELOCK

To the Editor:

This year being the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ralph A. Blakelock, the Whitney Museum of American Art is forming a record of his work. A number of his important paintings are still unlocated, including the twelve listed below. We should appreciate it if anyone knowing the present ownership of these works would communicate with Lloyd Goodrich, Associate Curator, Whitney Museum of American Art, 10 West 8th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

*The Boulder and the Flume in the Franconia Notch*, N. H., 1878. 54 x 28. F. S. Gibbs sale 1904.

*Kaaterskill Clove*. 42 x 20. Illus., Moulton & Ricketts, Chicago, *Works by Inness, Wyant, Blakelock*, 1913.

*Landscape*. 23½ x 40. Owned by Breasley T. (or J.) Bradley in 1919.

*Moonlight*. 56¾ x 35¾. From William M. Laffan coll. Owned by Mrs. M. Loeb, 1919.

*Navajo Basket-Makers*. Illus. catalogue of F. S. Gibbs coll. 1901.

*The Necklace*. 29 x 36½. Owned by Clapp & Graham, N. Y., 1919.

*Red Woods, California*. Illus. catalogue F. S. Gibbs coll. 1901.

*Seal Rock (or Sunset, Seal Rock)*. 42 x 30. Owned by S. C. Scotten, Chicago, 1913.

*Spring-Rock Cove*. 37 x 27. Owned by John McCormack 1916.

*The Vista*. 16 x 24. Owned by Carson Pirie Scott & Co., Chicago 1917.

*Wood Interior*. 16 x 24. Illus. Moulton & Ricketts, Chicago, *Works by Inness, Wyant, Blakelock*, 1913.

*The Wounded Stag*. 21 x 39. Lyman G. Bloomingdale sale 1928.

Very sincerely yours,

LLOYD GOODRICH, Associate Curator

### INFORMATION OF WORKS OF THOMAS HART BENTON WANTED

To the Editor:

I am preparing a catalogue and critical analysis of the work of the American painter, Thomas Hart Benton. I would be grateful if anyone owning sketches, drawings, or paintings (exclusive of lithographs) by Mr. Benton, would please correspond with me.

D. W. LAGING, Professor  
Department of Literature and Fine Arts  
Michigan State College  
East Lansing, Michigan



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